

KEEP AS TOP SERIAL

REQUESTOR

MI.#

SUBJECT

DATE

[Redacted]

6362

[Redacted]

10-26-81

b6  
b7C

CPO-670

447931  
122191

8-100 BY SP5 J/PMB

~~SECRET~~

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION

AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1,6)  
DATE 12-21-2011

|  |                                   |  |   |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|---|
| Reporting Office<br>SAN FRANCISCO  | Office of Origin<br>SAN FRANCISCO | Date<br>4/14/69  | Investigative Period<br>4/1/69 - 4/5/69 |
| Title of Case<br><br>CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.   |                                   | Report made by<br><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div> | Typed By:<br>cab                        |
| DATE: 4-13-69<br>CLASSIFIED BY: UC 65179 DMH/HK2/CK<br>DECLASSIFY ON: 25X(1,6) 1-13-2020<br>C/A# 02-0603 |                                   | Character of Case<br>SM - SDS (Key Activist)   |   |

## SUMMARY

REFERENCE: Bulet to Albany and all offices, dated 3/10/69, captioned, "New Left Movement, Black Extremist Activities, Student Agitation - Key Activists."

- P -

## LEADS:

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will continue aggressive investigation of this Subject and submit an investigative report in 90 days.

## ADMINISTRATIVE

The information utilized in this investigative summary report has principally been reported previously. However, certain items have not been contained in prior reports and accordingly copies of this report have been designated for Secret Service.

|   |                            |                              |           |
|---|----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|
| Approved<br><i>CWB</i>  | Special Agent<br>in Charge | Do not write in spaces below |           |
| Copies made:<br>⑧ - Bureau (105-142056)(RM)<br>- Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 3)(RM)<br>3 - San Francisco (100-55497) CPO-671 |                            | 105-142056-121               | REC-88    |
|   |                            | 15 APR 18 1969               |           |
|   |                            |                              | b6<br>b7C |

## Notations:

AGENCY: ACSI, OM, OSI, SEC. SER., STATE

CIA

RAO (130, ORO, CO, HOU)

DATE FORW: 4/25/69

HOW FORW: RLS

BY: WNP/hay

Copy to Criminal Div. by routing slip for

☒ Info ☐ action

date 5/1/69

by WNP/hay

OGA Info Remains classified

PER LTR DTD 11-27-06 60267AK6

WLS/K/TMB

1, 6

54 MAY 5-1969

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ/cab

~~SECRET~~

This report is classified "~~SECRET~~" because it contains information furnished by [REDACTED] and so classified by that agency.

b7E

(S) [REDACTED] This information also contains information from [REDACTED] which should be classified "~~SECRET~~" and "~~NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~". (S) b1

SOURCES:

Identity of Informants

File Where Located

SF T-1 is [REDACTED] (PSI) b6  
[REDACTED] b7C  
Detroit Office b7D

DE 100-33032

SF T-2 is [REDACTED] b7D

DE 100-33032

SF T-3 is [REDACTED] b7C  
(a Cincinnati source b7D  
protected by request) b6

DE 100-33032

SF T-4 is [REDACTED] b7D

b7D

SF T-5 is [REDACTED]  
Commonwealth National Bank  
435 Montgomery Street b7C  
San Francisco, California b7D  
(by request) b6

This report

SF T-6 is [REDACTED] Student b7C  
[REDACTED] b7D  
University of Michigan b6  
Ann Arbor, Michigan  
(by request)

DE 100-33032-158

SF T-7 is [REDACTED] PSI b7C  
[REDACTED] b7D  
Memphis Division b6

DE 100-33032-4

- B -  
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CPO-672

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ/cab

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Identity of Informants

File Where Located

SF T-8 is [redacted] PSI b7C  
[redacted] b7D  
Detroit Division b6

DE 100-33032-197

SF T-9 is [redacted] b7D

DE 100-33032-216

SF T-10 is [redacted] PSI b7C  
[redacted] b7D  
Cincinnati Division b6

CI 100-15928-138

SF T-11 is [redacted] b7D

[redacted] b7D

(S) SF T-12 is [redacted] (S) b1  
[redacted] b7D

(S) [redacted] (S) b1  
[redacted] b7D

SF T-13 is [redacted] PSI b7C  
[redacted] b7D  
Indianapolis Division b6

DE 100-33032-27

SF T-14 is [redacted] b7D

DE 100-33032-129

SF T-15 is [redacted] b7D

DE 100-33032-133

SF T-16 is [redacted] PSI b7C  
[redacted] b7D  
Cincinnati Division b6

CI 100-15928-117

SF T-17 is [redacted] b7D  
SF [redacted]

[redacted] b7D

SF T-18 is [redacted] b7D  
SF [redacted]

[redacted] b7D

SF T-19 is [redacted] (S) b1

DE 100-33032-149

SF T-20 is [redacted] b7D

DE 100-33032-51

- C -  
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CPO-673



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SF 100-55497  
CLJ:st

| <u>Identity of Informants</u>   | <u>File Where Located</u> |
|---|---------------------------|
| SF T-21 is<br>[redacted] PSI b7C<br>New York Division b7D<br>b6   | DE 100-33032-112          |
| SF T-22 is<br>[redacted] PSI b7C<br>New York Division b7D<br>b6   | DE 100-33032-88           |
| SF T-23 is<br>[redacted] Wayne State b7C<br>University, Detroit, Michigan b7D<br>(By Request) b6            | DE 100-33032-74           |
| SF T-24 is<br>[redacted] b7C<br>(Detroit Source, by request) b7D<br>b6                                      | DE 100-33032-96           |
| SF T-25 is<br>[redacted] b7C<br>California State College, b7D<br>Los Angeles, California b6<br>(By Request) | DE 100-33032-81           |
| SF T-26 is<br>[redacted] b7D  | DE 100-33032-99           |
| SF T-27 is<br>[redacted] b7C<br>U of M, Ann Arbor b7D<br>(By Request) b6                                    | DE 100-33032-164          |
| SF T-28 is<br>[redacted]  | DE 100-33032-166          |
| SF T-29 is b7D<br>[redacted]  | DE 100-33032-192          |

- D -  
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CPO-674

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ:st

Identity of Informants

File Where Located

SF T-30 is [redacted]  
[redacted]  
Florida Bureau of Enforcement,  
Tallahassee, Florida  
(By Request)

b7C  
b7D  
b6

DE 100-55497-22,23

SF T-31 is [redacted]  
[redacted] Yellow Springs,  
Ohio (By Request)

b7C  
b7D  
b6

CI 176-6-6

SF T-32 is [redacted]

b7D

176-48

SF T-33 is [redacted]

CI 100-15928-197

SF T-34 is [redacted] PSI  
Washington Field Office

b7C  
b7D  
b6

CI 100-15928-188

SF T-35 is [redacted]

b7D

BA [redacted]

b7D

(S) SF T-36 is [redacted]

~~(S)~~ b1  
b7D

CI 100-15928-212

SF T-37 is [redacted] Panel Source  
NY Office

b6  
b7C  
b7D

NY 100-148047

SF T-38 is [redacted]

DE 100-33032

[redacted] PD, Ann  
Arbor, Michigan (By Request)

b6  
b7C  
b7D

SF T-39 is [redacted]

DE 100-33032

[redacted] University of Michigan,  
Ann Arbor, Michigan  
(By Request)

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ:st

Identity of Informants

File Where Located

SF T-40 is  
CG 6893-S\*

DE 100-33032

SF T-41 is

[REDACTED]

b7C  
b7D  
b6

DE 100-33032-28

SF T-42 is

[REDACTED]

b7D

DE 100-33032-116

SF T-43 is

[REDACTED]

b7D

DE 100-33032-151

SF T-44 is

[REDACTED]

b1  
b7D

DE 100-33032-186

SF T-45 is

[REDACTED]

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Ann Arbor, Michigan  
(By Request)

DE 100-33032

SF T-46 is

[REDACTED]

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b7D  
b6

Ann Arbor, Michigan  
(By Request)

DE 100-33032

SF T-47 is

[REDACTED]

b7D

DE 100-33032-189

SF T-48 is

[REDACTED]

b1  
b7D

CI 100-15928-46

SF T-49 is

[REDACTED]

b1

(S)

[REDACTED]

b1  
b7D

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ:st

Identity of Informants

File Where Located

SF T-50 is [redacted] PCI  
Denver Office

b7C  
b7D  
b6

DV 100-9068

(S) SF T-51 is [redacted] (S)  
b1  
b7D

(S) [redacted] (S)  
b1  
b7D

SF T-52 is [redacted]  
Bank of America, 24th and Bryant,  
San Francisco, California  
(By Request)

100-55497

b7C  
b7D  
b6

(S) SF T-53 is [redacted] (S)  
b1

SF T-54 is [redacted]  
University of Michigan,  
Ann Arbor, Michigan  
(By Request)

DE 105-11627-680

b7C  
b7D  
b6

SF T-55 is [redacted]  
b7D

DE 100-33032-29

SF T-56 is [redacted]  
University of Michigan,  
Ann Arbor, Michigan  
(By Request)

DE 105-11627-680

b7C  
b7D  
b6

SF T-57 is [redacted]  
b7D

DE 100-33032-220

SF T-58 is [redacted]  
b7D

DE 100-33032-221

- G -  
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CPO-677

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ:st

Identity of Informants

File Where Located

SF T-59 is

[REDACTED]

b7D

DE 100-33032-209

SF T-60 is

[REDACTED]

PSI

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Detroit Office

DE 100-1334-10094

SF T-61 is

NY 4664-S\*

SF T-62 is

[REDACTED]

b7D

DE 100-33032-202

SF T-63 is

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Bendix Systems Division  
Ann Arbor, Michigan  
(By Request)

DE 100-33032-170

SF T-64 is

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Los Angeles, California  
(By Request)

DE 100-33032

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CPO-678

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. SF 100-55497

April 14, 1969

Director  
United States Secret Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☐ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
  - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
  - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
  - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available  
☐ may be available through \_\_\_\_\_

Very truly yours,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1  
U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco

8-1-00

SP5-J/TMB

447931

922/91

Enclosure(s) 1

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form  
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

CPO-679

~~SECRET-NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1,6)  
DATE 12-21-2011

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Copy to: 1-Secret Service, San  
Francisco (Class 3)(RM)

Report of:  
Date:

b6  
4/14/69 b7C

Office: San Francisco

Field Office File #: 100-55497

Bureau File #: 105-142056

Title: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

Character: SECURITY MATTER - SDS

~~1-13-05~~

~~UC 65177 DMH/HK 9/16~~

~~1,6 1-13-2030~~

~~C/A # 02-0603~~

Synopsis:

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR., now residing at San Francisco, California, and self-employed as a writer, graduated from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and thereafter in 1965 and 1966 served as the National President of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). From 1965 to the present, OGLESBY has made numerous trips and speeches throughout the United States and in many foreign countries in which he has opposed the capitalistic government of the United States; U. S. involvement in Vietnam; and the Selective Service System. He has advocated confrontations by SDS and dissident elements. His selected role is that of counselor and theoretician for SDS.

DETAILS:

~~SECRET-NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~  
~~Group 1~~  
~~Excluded from automatic~~  
~~downgrading and~~  
~~declassification~~

~~85-JC/TMB~~  
~~16~~  
~~8-1-00~~

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ:cac

I. BACKGROUND

A. Birth Data

Subject in a Personnel Security Questionnaire (PSQ) dated December 10, 1958, as submitted to Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan, gave his birth data as July 30, 1935, Akron, Ohio. He identified his parents as CARL P. OGELSBY, SR., born April, 1904, Cowpens, South Carolina, and residing 186 South Union Street, Akron, Ohio, and Mrs. ALMA WESTLING, born April, 1914, Richard City, Tennessee, and residing Lincoln Court, Elyria, Ohio.

B. Citizenship

In PSQ referred to above, Subject claimed United States citizenship.

C. Education

In PSQ referred to above, Subject furnished the following information concerning his prior education:

|                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1940-1941                       | Woodlawn Grade School<br>Kalamazoo, Michigan           |
| 1941-1943                       | Fraunfelter Grade School<br>Akron, Ohio                |
| 1943-<br>June, 1949             | Grosby Grade School<br>Akron, Ohio (graduated)         |
| September, 1949-<br>June, 1950  | West High School<br>Akron, Ohio                        |
| September, 1950-<br>June, 1953  | Revere High School<br>Akron, Ohio (graduated)          |
| September, 1953-<br>March, 1957 | Kent State University<br>Kent, Ohio (did not graduate) |

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ:cac

[redacted] Alumni Catalogue Office,  
University of Michigan, (U of M), Ann Arbor, Michigan, on  
September 24, 1965, furnished the following information  
from the Alumni records of the U of M:

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CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, born July 30, 1965, Akron,  
Ohio, initially entered the Liberal Arts College, U of M,  
February, 1960, and continued regularly enrolled through  
the school year 1960-1961 and 1961-1962, securing a Bachelor  
of Arts Degree with a concentration in English in 1962.  
In enrollment data he listed his "parent" as Mr. CARL  
OGLESBY, Akron, Ohio, and identified his wife as [redacted]  
[redacted] He indicated prior enrollment at Kent State  
University, Kent, Ohio, from September, 1953, through  
April, 1957. He indicated employment with Bendix Systems  
Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan, from December, 1958 through  
February, 1960.

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While enrolled as a student at the U of M, he  
listed the following Ann Arbor, Michigan residences:

2551 Waters Road (1960)

104 Forest Street (1960-1961)

1717 Dexter (1961)

D. Marital Status

In PSQ referred to above, Subject identified his  
wife as [redacted] born [redacted] Ohio,  
and residing in 1958 at [redacted] Cleveland,  
Ohio.

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E. Military Service

In PSQ referred to above, Subject indicates no  
military service and notes enrollment with Selective Service  
Board Number 115, Buchtel Avenue, Akron, Ohio, listing  
Selective Service Number 33 115 35 477, and a classification  
in 1958 of 1-A.

F. Employment

[redacted], Bendix Systems  
Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan, advised on August 16, 1965,  
that Subject is employed full time as President of the

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ:cac

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at the national headquarters of that organization in Chicago, Illinois. He advised that subject has held that position since being elected to same in June, 1965, and was employed prior to June, 1965 as a Technical Editor with the Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

A characterization of SDS appears on an appendix page.

In PSQ referred to above, prepared by the Subject in 1958, on assuming employment with Bendix Systems Division, there is listed the following employment history for the Subject:

Technical Writer, Goodyear Aircraft Corporation  
Massilon Road, Supervisor W. P. MC MAKON  
Akron, Ohio  
September, 1957 - September, 1958

Baker, Kent Pizza Shop, Franklin Street  
Supervisor SAM CATALANO, Kent, Ohio  
October, 1956 - March, 1957

Billing Clerk, Norwalk Trucking  
Akron, Ohio  
September, 1956 - October, 1956

Typist, Employer's Temporary Service  
West 34th Street, Supervisor Mr. DEUCHER  
New York, New York  
February, 1956 - June, 1956

Clerk, J.C. Penney's Store  
South Main Street, Akron, Ohio  
January, 1956 - February, 1956

Clerk, Sears, Roebuck & Company  
South Main Street, Akron, Ohio  
December, 1955 - December, 1955;  
June, 1955 - September, 1955

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SF 100-55497  
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Subject was employed as President of the SDS organization during 1965 - 1966. Subject indicated that on completing his term as President of SDS on or about September 1, 1966, he was giving serious consideration to taking employment offered by Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. In this connection, Subject stated he welcomed the opportunity to settle down to have the opportunity for serious thinking and writing after a solid year of travel.

SF T-1, 9/19/66

In promotional materials announcing a speaking engagement for the Subject at the University of Michigan (U of M), Ann Arbor, Michigan, during September, 1966, Subject was described as "Resident Activist Scholar", Antioch College, and "Past President, SDS".

SF T-2, 9/23/66

A source in September, 1960 stated that if plans to establish a "peace center" at Yellow Springs, Ohio materialize, Subject would remain at Yellow Springs, Ohio for a period from six months to one year to assist in coordinating various peace making activities and thereby assist in making Yellow Springs the center of such activities in the United States. Source noted that Subject as a former President of SDS was in Yellow Springs, Ohio, during September, 1966, giving talks to student groups and townspeople, on which occasions he was "billed" as the "Intellectual Leader of the Peace Movement".

SF T-3, 9/30/66

The "Record", an Antioch College newspaper printed weekly in Yellow Springs, Ohio, carried an article titled, "OGLESBY Chosen CG (Community Government) Activist-Scholar", in the September 30, 1966, edition.

According to this article, OGLESBY was chosen as the first Activist-Scholar-In-Residence at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. OGLESBY was to be paid \$4,000 for a six months term beginning October, 1966 to conduct seminars on radical political philosophy.

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SF 100-55497  
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The "Record", supra, dated October 14, 1966, carried an article titled, "OGLESBY Has High Expectations For Seminar On New Left Topics".

According to the article the group areas of stress for the seminar included, "The Conservative Right", "The Radical Tradition", "Corporate Power In The World", "Black Autarky", and "Third World Primers".

According to the article, OGLESBY mentioned that the seminars should help to determine and unify the New Left Policies in future months.

The "Journal Herald", a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Dayton, Ohio area, carried an article titled, "Rebellion Revolves Around Changing the Self," on page 1 of the May 10, 1967 edition.

According to the article, the glamour of the New York Peace March (April, 1967) drew some 200 students, however, the more deliberate activities of OGLESBY have not awakened a great interest.

The article stated his course in Absurdist Morality drew 26 students; his seminar on the literature of rebellion attracted ten students; and another seminar on current issues, such as Black Power and the Vietnam War had to be cancelled when only two students appeared.

OGLESBY stated that this was "a revealing commentary on the political activities of the Antioch student."

Subject is associated with the San Francisco Mime Troupe, 450 Alabama Street, San Francisco, California.

The San Francisco Mime Troupe is a left oriented agitation, propaganda theatrical group, which concentrates on anti-establishment, anti-war and obscene plays. It is supported by grants, contributions and fees.

SF T-4, 11/6/68

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ:cac

The April, 1969 issue of "Ramparts" Magazine lists CARL OGLESBY as a "consulting editor".

"Ramparts" in a letter to subscribers dated May 1, 1968, announced that beginning June 1, 1968, it would be published biweekly at a yearly subscription price of \$15. In this letter "Ramparts" described itself as follows: "...the first national publication to consistently reveal the ribbon of lies supporting America's involvement in Vietnam; we stripped the curtain from America's 'invisible government' by exposing CIA's unlicensed intrusion into our domestic lies; we dared to write about the applications of the Catholic Church's political power; we warned, years before the Kerner report, that white racism was the base of America's racial problems; we blasted away at the corroded institutions of Cold War liberalism.

" 'Ramparts' is now the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States..."

CARL OGLESBY was not on the payroll of "Ramparts" in February or March, 1969.

SF T-5, 3/28/69

OGLESBY is self-employed as a writer from his residence.

SF T-4, 4/1/69

G. Residence

[redacted] supra, advised on August 16, 1965, that Subject as of that date, had sold his Ann Arbor, Michigan residence at 916 Sunnyside Street, and was presumed to have relocated his family at Chicago, Illinois. He said the Subject declined to furnish Bendix Systems Division, his former employer, with a forwarding address other than in care of SDS Headquarters, Chicago, Illinois.

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ:cac

[ ] advised that Subject was in contact with Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan on several occasions after terminating his employment in June, 1965, and indicated that he intended relocating his family to Chicago, Illinois, where he would be employed for the next year as President of the SDS. [ ] noted that Subject had earlier said that he intended to relocate his family somewhere in Chicago on selling his home in Ann Arbor. [ ] also noted that Subject had advised that he expected to be in an almost constant "travel status" for the next year but would be working out of the SDS Chicago Headquarters.

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In the PSQ referred to above, Subject listed the following addresses prior to 1958:

2252 South Circle Drive  
Ann Arbor, Michigan (temporary)  
November, 1958

Clark Road  
Cape Neddick, Maine  
September, 1958 - November, 1958

123 Franklin Street  
Kent, Ohio  
October, 1956 - September, 1958

112 East Cuyahoga Falls Avenue  
(?), 1954 - October, 1956

Grahler Road  
Akron, Ohio  
1951 - 1954

Yellow Creek Road  
Akron, Ohio  
1950 - 1951

68 West Street  
Akron, Ohio  
1943 - 1950

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ:cac

Cork Street  
Akron, Ohio  
1941 - 1943

Foley Street  
Kalamazoo, Michigan  
1938 - 1941

Oak Street  
Kalamazoo, Michigan  
1937 - 1938

Subject, since assuming presidency of SDS, June, 1965, has been in almost constant travel status throughout the United States and abroad, generally making appearances for SDS organization. As of September 19, 1966, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Subject was at that time arranging employment in another area of the country.

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SF T-1, 9/19/66

On October 18, 1968, Chief of Police JAMES A. MC KEE, Yellow Springs, Ohio, advised that Subject resided at 1204 Xenia Avenue until on or about October 13, 1968.

OGLESBY resides in an apartment [REDACTED] at 1268 Vermont Street, San Francisco, California. He moved there on October 31, 1968.

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SF T-4, 11/6/68

OGLESBY and his family reside at 1268 Vermont Street, San Francisco, California.

[REDACTED]  
San Francisco, 3/28/69

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H. Credit and Arrest

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[redacted] Ann Arbor Credit Bureau, Ann Arbor, Michigan, advised on August 24, 1965, that CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR. has been on file with his agency since July, 1959, with a listed address at that time of 2551 Waters Road, Ann Arbor. He listed a previous address of 1713 Pontiac Trail, Ann Arbor, and addresses subsequent to 1959 as follows:

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104 South Forest Street  
Ann Arbor, 1961

1717 Dexter Avenue  
Ann Arbor, 1961

916 Sunnyside  
Ann Arbor, 1963

He advised that according to his records CARL PRESTON OGLESBY is married. his wife identified in his records as [redacted]

[redacted] As of 1963, he was employed with the Bendix Corporation, Ann Arbor, Michigan, at a salary of \$870.00 a month, and was purchasing the home at the Sunnyside Street address above.

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[redacted] advised that Subject's paying habits appear in his records as satisfactory and the records indicate no history of claims or other derogatory information.

[redacted] Record Bureau, Ann Arbor Police Department, Ann Arbor, Michigan, advised on August 24, 1965, that a review of her records produced no reference to CARL PRESTON or [redacted]

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#### I. Health

SF T-6 advised on September 28, 1965, that Subject is known to him as one who has been involved in recent months in campus student activity at the U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan. He described the subject as frail and "sickly looking" and one who reportedly is doing a tremendous

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amount of traveling in recent months, with some resulting impairment of his health. He advised that Subject had been scheduled to address a rally on the campus of the U of M in the nature of a Vietnam protest rally on September 24, 1965, but was unable to keep this appointment due to his health. He said on that occasion it was understood that Subject was suffering with a respiratory affliction, believed to be pneumonia. He said he did not know whether the Subject was or was not hospitalized at that time.

J. Passport Information

The records of the Passport Office, United States Department of State (USDS) as of August 16, 1965, reflected that passport number F-489267 had been issued to OGLESBY on June 29, 1965, at Chicago, Illinois. In his application for the above passport, dated June 28, 1965, at Ann Arbor, Michigan, OGLESBY stated that he planned to travel for two weeks to France, the Philippines, and Japan, and that the purpose of this travel was "research, pleasure". He stated that he planned to depart from Detroit, Michigan on July 5, 1965 via Northwest Airlines.

In the above application, OGLESBY listed his father as CARL P. OGLESBY, born in Cowpens, South Carolina, on March 29, 1903, and his mother as ALMA LOVING, born Richard City, Tennessee, on April 24, 1914. He stated that he was last married on [redacted] to [redacted] born [redacted] Ohio, [redacted], and listed his permanent address as 916 Sunnyside, Ann Arbor, Michigan. OGLESBY listed his date and place of birth as July 30, 1935 at Akron, Ohio.

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Under current regulations, the above described passport is still valid.

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## II. ACTIVITIES ASSOCIATED WITH SDS

### A. Presidency

"The Michigan Daily", a student publication at U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, dated June 16, 1965, carried an article entitled "SDS Convention Explores Educational Policies". This article concludes with a statement that at the close of its plenary session the SDS national convention held at Kewadin, Michigan, June, 1965, elected CARL OGLESBY to serve as President for the coming year. The article described OGLESBY as 30 years of age, and as having graduated from the U of M in 1961, noting that in that year he won a major Hopwood drama award at the U of M. The article notes that OGLESBY was the fifth SDS President in a row to have studied at the U of M.

The "Ann Arbor News", a daily newspaper published at Ann Arbor, Michigan, under date June 15, 1965, carried an article entitled "Three Actions Set in Protest Movement." This article states in part as follows:

"Carl Oglesby of Ann Arbor, newly elected president of the national Students for a Democratic Society said in Kewadin, near Traverse City, that the society is considering plans -- including possible deliberate violation of U. S. espionage laws -- to try to force the government to defend its Viet Nam position in court.

"Up to 200 U-M students belong to the society and Oglesby, 29 year-old U-M graduate, said that if the society's council approves the plan, it still would have to be voted on by the group's 2,000 members.

"It occurred to us that it may be a good idea to put the Administration into a trial situation," Oglesby said. "One way would be through a deliberate infraction of the 1917 Espionage Act."

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"Oglesby said the act forbids the advocacy that a member of the U. S. Armed Forces desert the army or refuse to do battle for the country.

"Oglesby added one method of attacking the act would be to distribute pamphlets in or near Army bases urging soldiers to refuse to fight in Viet Nam."

B. National Conventions

SF T-7 advised on June 15, 1965, that the National Convention of the SDS was held during the week of June 7, 1965, at Camp Maplehurst, Kewadin, Michigan. The informant advised that CARL OGLESBY, who was elected President of the SDS, at this convention, was in attendance during the convention. Informant advised that CARL OGLESBY at this convention on June 13, 1965, addressed the convention explaining what his workshop had covered. Informant advised that his comments in this address were in part as follows:

"Philosophy of SDS involvement in foreign policy issue -- we decided SDS should be involved in foreign policy and given that we want to educate ourselves in this political involvement. We should understand with whom we deal and how they relate to life and politics in this country. We build movements around things that affect people, as with Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. To live in the United States now is not to have the opportunity for total involvement in cold war issues.

"Vietnam was thrust upon us and we didn't have time to decide, but South Africa is different, it is our creation. SDS does not want to be in a position

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where they simply respond to some new outrage of the JOHNSON Administration. SDS should relate to this ferment not by becoming an advocate of the cold war but by turning this into a massive protest movement. SDS must attain some initiative not just react to whims of the government."

OGLESBY said there were some who felt "foreign policy for SDS was suicidal, impossible, ridiculous, or all three. While we want to be careful about associating with this or that country we still feel SDS should more closely associate themselves with issues which not only affect us at home but overseas.

"People want to know if it is possible for the American government to make a decision overseas which we could officially endorse.

"People want to know and discuss international communism."

Informant additionally advised that among numerous pamphlets distributed at this SDS convention was a pamphlet entitled "The Vietnam War: World Revolution and American Containment" which identified its author as CARL OGLESBY.

CARL OGLESBY addressed the SDS convention meeting at Yellow Springs, Ohio, April, 1966, before which he gave a speech to the assembled convention in which he called the United States a group of misguided persons. He also stated that Red China has also failed as a world leader, indicating they were not controlling the small Asian nations, such as Vietnam.

SF T-8  
April 12, 1966

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At the SDS National Convention held at Clear Lake August 27 to September 1, 1966, CARL OGLESBY spoke before a panel on American intervention in the underdeveloped nations. The essential theme of these discussions was that American imperialism is not now based as it once was on taking over a country by force and installing a government, as in the case of the Phillipines, but rather through taking over economically. It was noted that small countries are being taken over in an economic sense and attempts are made to control the products and economy of these small countries through exploiting their natural resources and labor.

OGLESBY also addressed a plenary session of this conference.

SF T-9

September 6, 1966

On July 17, 1967, [REDACTED] [REDACTED], Louisville, Kentucky, voluntarily furnished information concerning the National Convention of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held at the University of Michigan Ann Arbor, Michigan, during the period June 25-30, 1967.

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[REDACTED] stated that he observed subject and his wife at the convention.

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Subject attended the National Convention of the SDS, which was held at Michigan State University (MSU), East Lansing, Michigan, from June 9 - 15, 1968. Subject was one of eight persons elected to the National Interim Committee (NIC).

SF T-10

June 18, 19, and 20, 1968

SF T-11

June 16, 1968

SF T-12 on July 1 and 2, 1968

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C. National Council Meetings, SDS

CARL OGLESBY of Chicago, Illinois, was in attendance at the National Council Meeting of the SDS held at Camp McCormick in McCormick Creek, State Park, near Bloomington, Indiana, September 5 - 10, 1965. This meeting was opened to members of the SDS and representatives of other organizations as well as members of the National Council of SDS. It was called for discussions and to assist in determining policy of SDS in such matters as the draft, the war in Vietnam, relationship to other programs, and matters concerning organizational structure.

There was unanimous agreement that there should be a visible national "anti-draft program" whose purpose would not necessarily be to abolish the draft but to build an "anti-draft program" whose purpose would not necessarily be to abolish the draft but to build an "anti-war" movement around the draft issue and possibly make a draft system function less smoothly.

SF T-13  
September 16, 1965

CARL OGLESBY, as President of SDS, attended the SDS conference held at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, December, 1965, to January, 1966. He was described as aloof and maintaining himself from the politics and problems of the conference. He appeared above political issues and although President, never chaired even one of the many debates held during the conference. He attended various sessions of the conference, however, simply as a spectator. On one evening session he made an announcement that a representative of the American Society of Friends, Chicago, had contacted him concerning a private letter being written to HO CHI MINH of North Vietnam. In connection with this letter, he stated he was solicited as one whose signature

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was desired to this letter which was described as urging HO CHI MINH to be receptive to sincere peace offensives of the United States Government, if the peace offensives were genuinely sincere.

In discussing this matter, OGLESBY appeared to wish to express or demonstrate the day to day decision making problems confronting him in his position.

SF T-1  
January 7, 1966

At the National Council Meeting of the SDS held at the December conference of SDS at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, on January 1, 1966, a proposal was made to the National Council regarding the formation of something known as the Radical Education Project (REP). REP was described as the formation of a committee of from 15 to 25 individuals to assume responsibility for promoting radical education and research within the movement and to publish regular results of same, to establish speakers' bureaus on issues important to the movement and organize speakers' tours, to organize educational resources of value to local groups, etc. CARL OGLESBY was included among a group of seven individual designated for the implementation committee for REP which was described as to operate from Ann Arbor, Michigan. The proposal was passed by the National Council.

SF T-14  
January 5, 1966

At the National Council meeting held at Urbana, Illinois, December, 1965, to January, 1966, there was held a discussion of the Vietnamese war with the prospect of talking to soldiers urging them to take steps to hamper the war efforts. A participant in the discussion referred to an alleged incident where such an effort was made in California recently. In this discussion CARL OGLESBY stated that soldiers are not a real political force and that trying to talk them into our views is no good. He said that it could get "us shot for treason". He stated additionally

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that military personnel have no political power and that those considering such action would be better advised to work through their neighbors and friends to attempt to convince them of their views.

SF T-15

January 5, 1966

At the National Council meeting of the SDS held at the U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June, 1966, the conference was concerned principally with SDS relationship with Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the reorganization of the administrative offices of the SDS. As a result of action taken at this conference, the Chicago - Ann Arbor power axis of the organization was greatly crippled. It was determined that CARL OGLESBY will continue to serve as acting President, however, without salary. He derives his income presently from speaking engagements.

SF T-1

June 24, 1966

Subject attended the SDS Council meeting at Lexington, Kentucky, from March 28 through 31, 1968.

SF T-16, March 31, 1968

Since he was reported as coming to live in San Francisco, California, in October, 1968, CARL OGLESBY has held himself aloof from participation in local SDS affairs. He has not attended any meetings of the Northern California Regional Council of SDS.

SF T-17

April 2, 1969

SF T-18

April 2, 1969

OGLESBY is not known to have attended any SDS meetings or to have advised concerning any SDS activities in San Francisco, California, since his arrival in October, 1968.

SF T-4

April 1, 1969

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D. Speeches or Appearances by Subject

1. General Speaking Tour, Summer, 1965

An American participant in a Women's "Peace Mission" to Vietnam, summer, 1965, in contact with an official of a women's peace organization in North Vietnam during 1965, referred to the summer, 1965, meeting of American and North Vietnamese women's groups interested in peace in Indo-China. In this contact, it was noted that NANCY GITLIN, who participated in the American Women's "Peace Mission" was commencing a tour of the United States with OGLESBY, who was described as having visited Saigon in the summer of 1965. It was stated that GITLIN and OGLESBY were speaking to university students primarily. (S) U

SF T-19  
December 16, 1965

2. U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, October 28, 1965

Subject, on October 28, 1965, spoke at the U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, as part of a panel discussing conscientious objectors and the Draft. He shared the speakers' platform with PAUL LAUTER of the American Friends Service Committee, Chicago, Illinois, and TODD GITLIN of the SDS, Chicago, Illinois. In this panel discussion, subject stated that one must believe that killing is immoral and that in declaring conscientious objector status should object to this as his reasons, as well as his religious beliefs. He told the assembled group that a new approach was being taken to the conscientious objector and that this would not be referred to as "Elective Service". He said plans were being formulated so that the proper counseling could be given those seeking it and there would be available ministers from the various faiths to perform these services.

SF T-1  
October 28, 1966

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3. Trenton, New Jersey, October 16, 1965

On October 16, 1965, a demonstration was held at Trenton, New Jersey, sponsored by Ad Hoc, Trenton, New Jersey, Committee to End the War in Vietnam, whose demonstration was held in conjunction with "International Days of Protest", held October, 1965. CARL OGLESBY addressed a rally held in conjunction with this demonstration and spoke for a change in the American Government's structure.

SF T-20  
October 19, 1965

4. American Broadcasting Company Television, October 31, 1965

On October 31, 1965, at 1:30 PM, on television station WMAL, Channel 7, Washington, D. C., subject appeared on the program "Issues and Answers". This program was billed as presenting two opposing views of young people in the United States today and featured TOM C. HUSTON, National Chairman, Young Americans for Freedom, and CARL OGLESBY, President, SDS.

During this program, OGLESBY presented the view of his organization which holds that the United States is the aggressor in Vietnam and that we should promptly discontinue our military activity in that country. He said that publicly the position of the United States has been that we are only bombing strategic targets in Vietnam, however, he alleged that it is well known that we have gone out of our way to bomb villages and other targets which have no military significance. He cited, as an example, the alleged wiping out of a leper colony by American planes recently. He went into a long harangue about the use of napalm and other types of bombs and said, "We feel we can raise a good question as to whether the United States is guilty of war crimes."

OGLESBY said that his organization did not encourage the burning of draft cards, but neither did it oppose it. He described the draft card burner as a "moral witness" and said that these individuals were merely acting in

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accordance with their own consciences. He said this situation raised a good question as to whether the state has the right to violate the "conscience" of its citizens and enforce criminal penalties against those who destroy their draft cards.

5. U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, November, 1965

In early November, 1965, subject addressed a meeting sponsored by SDS and held in one of the U of M dining halls. He spoke on the subject, "The Meaning of Vietnam". He repeatedly stated that one of the principal policies of SDS was concerning "Participatory Democracy", which he described as an independent discussion of the current political and social discussions by a group such as he was addressing on that occasion. He advised the group that SDS now has a broad program in which there has been formed a "National Speakers Committee". He said the committee is staffed by approximately 20 speakers who were about to travel throughout the country representing SDS and discussing SDS policies and peace. He indicated that his prime concern at that time was with such speaking engagements. He emphasized that the purpose was not to create argument or dissention nor to arouse hostility but to independently raise thought provoking questions.

SF T-1, November 5, 1965

6. National Guardian's Dinner, New York City,  
November 5, 1965

The National Guardian's 17th Anniversary dinner was held in New York City on November 5, 1965, and was attended by some 1,200 persons. One of the speakers at this affair was CARL OGLESBY. In his talk he claimed that SDS did not approve or disapprove of communists in their organization. He stated SDS was mainly interested in acquiring assistance and he implied they were not too concerned with finding out if there were communists in the organization.

SF T-21  
November 12, 1965

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7. New York City, New York, November 7, 1965

A meeting was held November 7, 1965, at the Hotel Woodstock, West 43rd Street, New York City, the primary purpose of which was an attempt to unite those groups currently working independently to end the war in Vietnam. Four speakers representing different groups included CARL OGLESBY, who questioned United States intervention in such countries as Dominican Republic, Greece, Iran, as well as Vietnam.

In his talk he stated that he believed the motivation in such intervention has always been the profit motive. He praised the work of the other speakers at this event and stressed the need to welcome all groups willing to fight for a change in the leadership and direction of the national administration.

SF T-22  
November 9, 1965

8. Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan,  
November 12, 1965

The SDS sponsored a speech by subject at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, November 12, 1965. In this speech subject stated that the United States is wasting its time in Vietnam and that there was no hope of winning in Southeast Asia, because the "political tides" in that area are against the United States. He stated that President JOHNSON is sacrificing the people of Vietnam in order to maintain his "Great Society" and to insure his success in the election of 1968. He added that President JOHNSON is escalating the war in Vietnam to prevent an economic crisis domestically, similar to the one in 1929. He stated he had talked to "GI's" in South Vietnam and that they are aware what has happened to their comrades in battle and he characterized these soldiers as being scared. He added that the Viet Cong controls and freely moves within two-thirds of the area in Vietnam and that if United States support were withdrawn and American bombing ceased, the Viet Cong would be able to control all of South Vietnam.

SF T-23  
November 12, 1965

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9. Central Methodist Church, Detroit, Michigan,  
November 12, 1965

CARL OGLESBY was identified as one of a group of speakers to share a platform at an affair to be held at the Central Methodist Church, Detroit, Michigan, November 12, 1965, in materials circulated at Detroit by the Friday Night Socialist Forum.

SF T-24  
November 2, 1965

10. University of California - Los Angeles, Los Angeles,  
California, November 16, 1965

An article was published at Los Angeles, California, November, 1965, which refers to a speech on the part of the subject on November 16, 1965, presented at the University of California, Los Angeles. In this talk he stated he did not question the right of the State to call its citizens into service. He stated "We question its right to make them violate their conscience." He described alternatives to military service as working to register voters in the South, building a better society in Watts or serving in the Peace Corps, Job Corps or Operation Headstart.

He stated that SDS' efforts to provide the public with more information about the draft arose because the war in Vietnam presently affects more people than before, and because information about the Draft is poorly disseminated.

University of California-  
Los Angeles, California  
"Daily Bruin",  
November 17, 1965

11. California State College at Los Angeles  
Los Angeles, California, November 17, 1966

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SF 100-55497  
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CARL OGLESBY spoke at an affair sponsored by SDS at California State College at Los Angeles, November 17, 1965. He was scheduled to speak on "Students For a Democratic Society Policy on the Draft", however, he spoke primarily of a trip he had taken to Japan and Vietnam at the time of the Tokyo Teach-In and of his experiences there. He stated that the people with whom he had spoken on that occasion expressed anti-American feeling. He said he had talked to some United States soldiers who were Negro and who indicated they felt they should be in the United States rather than Vietnam. He attempted to draw a parallel between the fighting in North and South Vietnam with the fighting between the North and the South in the Civil War in the United States. He stated that the people in Vietnam do not want the United States there and noted that communism is different in Vietnam from that in either the Soviet Union or in China.

SF T-25  
November 17, 1965

An article published at Los Angeles, California, November, 1965, concerns a speech on the part of the subject at California College at Los Angeles on November 17, 1966:

He discussed his Tokyo appearance stating he was proud when Japanese people recognized him and proud he had established the point in Japan that "There are Americans who dissent and say nasty things."

California State  
College - Los Angeles,  
"College Times"  
November 19, 1965

12. March on Washington, Washington, D. C.,  
November 27, 1965

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The National Anti-War Convention and "March on Washington" were held at Washington, D. C., in November, 1965. On the afternoon of November 27, 1965, various speeches were given at the Sylvan Theatre, Washington, D. C., under what was referred to as the SANE Anti-War program. The most anti-American speech was delivered by CARL OGLESBY, President of SDS. He said he was anti-American. He said he firmly believed that the only solution to the end of war was a drastic change in the total political and social order of the United States. OGLESBY read off a list of purported facts which he said showed every State Department official who negotiated a revolution in Iran, Central America, Latin America, did so with the only intent of furthering the United States neo-colonial capitalistic interests in those areas and allaying the peoples revolution against colonialism which certainly would have come about had not the United States intervened militarily.

He indicated the United States action in the overthrow of MOSSADEGH (engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency, he said) was for the sole purpose of giving American oil firms a hold on the wealth of that country. The same he said was true of the sugar cane interest in Central America and the molasses business of the same area. All the men who represented the United States State Department have since become members of the boards of these large corporations. OGLESBY said everyone should support the people's revolution in South Vietnam and insist that the United States withdraw its troops and permit the people to have whatever form of government they desired.

CARL OGLESBY said the American Corporate interest, the Establishment, coined the anti-Communist atmosphere and slogans to cloak their neo-colonial capitalistic exploitations of the masses. He said the Establishment continues to spread the so called Communistic hysteria as a means of continuing their control on the wealth of the world.

SF T-26  
December 1, 1965

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The following is the complete text of a talk delivered by CARL COLESBY at the March on Washington, November 27, 1965, as published in January, 1966, issue of "The Monthly Review":

"LIBERALISM AND THE CORPORATE STATE"

By CARL COLESBY

"Seven months ago at the April March on Washington, Paul Potter, then President of Students for a Democratic Society, stood in approximately this spot and said that we must name the system that creates and sustains the war in Vietnam - name it, describe it, analyze it, understand it, and change it.

"Today I will try to name it - to suggest an analysis which, to be quite frank, may disturb some of you - and to suggest what changing it may require of us.

"We are here again to protest against a growing war. Since it is a very bad war, we acquire the habit of thinking that it must be caused by very bad men. But we only conceal reality, I think, to denounce on such grounds the menacing coalition of industrial and military power, or the brutality of the blitzkrieg we are waging against Vietnam, or the ominous signs around us that heresy may soon no longer be permitted. We must simply observe, and quite plainly say, that this coalition, this blitzkrieg, and this demand for acquiescence are creatures, all of them, of a government that since 1932 has considered itself to be fundamentally liberal.

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This is the complete text of a talk delivered on November 27, 1965.

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"The original commitment in Vietnam was made by President Truman, a mainstream liberal. It was seconded by President Eisenhower, a moderate liberal. It was intensified by the late President Kennedy, a flaming liberal. Think of the men who now engineer that war - those who study the maps, give the commands, push the buttons, and rally the dead: Bundy, McNamara, Rusk, Lodge, Goldberg, the President himself.

"They are not moral monsters.

"They are all honorable men.

"They are all liberals.

"But so, I'm sure, are many of us who are here today in protest. To understand the war, then, it seems necessary to take a closer look at this American liberalism. Maybe we are in for some surprises. Maybe we have here two quite different liberalisms: one authentically humanist, the other not so human at all.

"Not long ago, I considered myself a liberal. And if someone had asked me what I meant by that, I'd perhaps have quoted Thomas Jefferson or Thomas Paine, who first made plain our nation's provisional commitment to human rights. But what do you think would happen if these two heroes could sit down now for a chat with President Johnson and McGeorge Bundy?

"They would surely talk of the Vietnam war. Our dead revolutionaries would soon wonder why their country was fighting against what appeared to be a revolution. The living liberals would hotly deny that it is one: there are troops coming in from outside, the rebels get arms from other countries, most of the people are not on their side, and they practice terror against their own. Therefore, not a revolution.

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"What would our dead revolutionaries answer? They might say: 'What fools and bandits, sirs, you make then of us. Outside help? Do you remember Lafayette? Or the 3,000 British freighters the French navy sunk for our side? Or the arms and men we got from France and Spain? And what's this about terror? Did you never hear what we did to our own Loyalists? Or about the thousands of rich American Tories who fled for their lives to Canada? And as for popular support, do you not know that we had less than one third of our people with us? That, in fact, the colony of New York recruited more troops for the British than for the revolution? Should we give it all back?'

"Revolutions do not take place in velvet boxes. They never have. It is only the poets who make them lovely. What the National Liberation Front is fighting in Vietnam is a complex and vicious war. This war is also a revolution, as honest a revolution as you can find anywhere in history. And this is a fact which all our intricate official denials will never change.

"But it doesn't make any difference to our leaders anyway. Their aim in Vietnam is really much simpler than this implies. It is to safeguard what they take to be American interests around the world against revolution or revolutionary change, which they always call Communism - as if that were that. In the case of Vietnam, this interest is, first, the principle that revolution shall not be tolerated anywhere, and second, that South Vietnam shall never sell its rice to China - or even to North Vietnam.

"There is simply no such thing now, for us, as a just revolution - never mind that for two thirds of the world's people the

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"twentieth century might as well be the Stone Age; never mind the terrible poverty and hopelessness that are the basic facts of life for most modern men; and never mind that for these millions there is now an increasingly perceptible relationship between their sorrow and out contentment.

"Can we understand why the Negroes of Watts rebelled? Then why do we need a devil theory to explain the rebellion of the South Vietnamese? Can we understand the oppression in Mississippi, or the anguish that our Northern ghettos make epidemic? Then why can't we see that our proper human struggle is not with Communism or revolutionaries, but with the social desperation that drives good men to violence, both here and abroad?

"To be sure, we have been most generous with our aid, and in Western Europe, a mature industrial society, that aid worked. But there are always political and financial strings. And we have never shown ourselves capable of allowing others to make those traumatic institutional changes that are often the prerequisites of progress in colonial societies. For all our official feeling for the millions who are enslaved to what we so self-righteously call the yoke of Communist tyranny, we make no real effort at all to crack through the much more vicious right wing tyrannies that our businessmen traffic with and our nation profits from every day. And for all our cries about the international red conspiracy to take over the world, we take only pride in our 6,000 military bases on foreign soil.

"We gave Rhodesia a grave look just now - but we keep on buying her chromium, which is cheap because black slave labor mines it.

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"We deplore the racism of Verwoerd's fascist South Africa - but our banks make big loans to that country and our private technology makes it a nuclear power.

"We are saddened and puzzled by random back-page stories of revolt in this or that Latin American state - but are convinced by a few pretty photos in the Sunday supplement that things are getting better, that the world is coming our way, that danger from disorder can be orderly, that our benevolence will pacify the distressed, that our might will intimidate the angry.

"Optimists, may I suggest that these are quite unlikely fantasies? They are fantasies because we have lost that mysterious social desire for human equity that from time to time has given us genuine moral drive. We have become a nation of young, bright-eyed, hard-hearted, slim-waisted, bullet-headed make-out artists. A nation - may I say it? - of beardless liberals.

"You say I am being hard? Only think.

"This country, with its thirty-some years of liberalism, can send 200,000 young men to Vietnam to kill and die in the most dubious of wars, but it cannot get 100 voter registers to go into Mississippi.

"What do you make of it?

"The financial burden of the war obliges us to cut millions from an already pathetic War on Poverty budget. But in almost the same breath, Congress appropriates \$140 million for the Lockheed and Boeing companies to compete with each other on the supersonic transport project - that Disneyland creation that will cost us all about \$2 billion before it's done.

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"What do you make of it?

"Many of us have been earnestly resisting for some years now the idea of putting atomic weapons into West German hands, an action that would perpetuate the division of Europe and thus the Cold War. Now just this week we find out that, with the meagerest of security systems, West Germany has had nuclear weapons in her hands for the past six years.

"What do you make of it?

"Some will make of it that I overdraw the matter. Many will ask: What about the other side? To be sure, there is the bitter ugliness of Czechoslovakia, Poland, those infamous Russian tanks in the streets of Budapest. But my anger only rises to hear some say that sorrow cancels sorrow, or that this one's shame deposits in that one's account the right to shamefulness.

"And others will make of it that I sound mighty anti-American. To these, I say: Don't blame me for that! Blame those who mouthed my liberal values and broke my American heart.

"Just who might they be, by the way? Let's take a brief factual inventory of the latter-day Cold War.

"In 1953 our Central Intelligence Agency managed to overthrow Mossadegh in Iran, the complaint being his neutralism in the Cold War and his plans to nationalize the country's oil resources to improve his people's lives. Most evil aims, most evil man. In his place we put in General Zahedi, a World War II Nazi collaborator. New arrangements on Iran's oil gave 25 year leases on 40 percent of it to

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"three United States firms, one of which was Gulf Oil. The CIA's leader for this coup was Kermit Roosevelt. In 1960 Kermit Roosevelt became a vice president of Gulf Oil.

"In 1954, the democratically elected Arbenz of Guatemala wanted to nationalize a portion of United Fruit Company's plantations in his country, land he needed badly for a modest program of agrarian reform. His government was overthrown in a CIA supported right-wing coup. The following year, General Walter Bedell Smith, director of the CIA when the Guatemala venture was being planned, joined the board of directors of the United Fruit Company.

"Comes 1960 and Castro cries we are about to invade Cuba. The administration sneers 'poppycock' and we Americans believe it. Comes 1961 and the invasion. Comes with it the awful realization that the United States government had lied.

"Comes 1962 and the missile crisis, and our administration stands prepared to fight global atomic war on the curious principle that another state does not have the right to its own foreign policy.

"Comes 1963 and British Guiana, where Cheddi Jagan wants independence from England and a labor law modeled on the Wagner Act. And Jay Lovestone, the AFL-CIO foreign policy chief, acting, as always, quite independently of labor's rank and file, arranges with our government to finance an eleven-week dock strike that brings Jagan down, ensuring that the state will remain British Guiana, and that any workman who wants a wage better than 50¢ a day is a dupe of Communism.

"Comes 1964. Two weeks after Undersecretary Thomas Mann announces that we have abandoned the Alianza's principle of no aid to

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"tyrants, Brazil's Goulart is overthrown by the vicious right-winger. Ademar Barros, supported by a show of American gunboats at Rio de Janeiro. Within 24 hours, the new head of state, Mazzilli, receives a congratulatory wire from our President.

"Comes 1963. The Dominican Republic. Rebellion in the streets. We scurry to the spot with 20,000 neutral marines and our neutral peacemakers - like Elsworth Bunker, Jr., Ambassador to the Organization of American States. Most of us know that our neutral marines fought openly on the side of the junta, a fact that the administration still denies. But how many also know that what was at stake was our new Caribbean sugar bowl? That this same neutral peacemaking Bunker is a board member and stock owner of the National Sugar Refining Company, a firm his father founded in the good old days, and one which has a major interest in maintaining the status quo in the Dominican Republic? Or that the President's close personal friend and advisor, our new Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, has sat for the past 19 years on the board of the Sucrest Company, which imports black-strap molasses from the Dominican Republic? Or that the rhetorician of corporate liberalism and the late President Kennedy's close friend, Adolf Berle, was chairman of that same board? Or that our roving ambassador Averill Harriman's brother Roland is on the board of National Sugar? Or that our former ambassador to the Dominican Republic, Joseph Farland, is a board member of the South Puerto Rico Sugar Co., which owns 275,000 acres of rich land in the Dominican Republic and is the largest employer on the island - at about one dollar a day?

"Neutralists! God save the hungry people of the world from such neutralists!

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"We do not say these men are evil. We say, rather, that good men can be divided from their compassion by the institutional system that inherits us all. Generation in and out, we are put to use. People become instruments. Generals do not hear the screams of the bombed; sugar executives do not see the misery of the cane cutters: for to do so is to be that much less the general, that much less the executive.

"The foregoing facts of recent history describe one main aspect of the estate of Western liberalism. Where is our American humanism here? What went wrong?

"Let's stare our situation coldly in the face. All of us are born to the colossus of history, our American corporate system - in many ways, an awesome organism. There is one fact that describes it: with about five percent of the world's people, we consume about half of the world's goods. We take a richness that is in good part not our own, and we put it in our pockets, our garages, our split-levels, our bellies, and our futures.

"On the face of it, it is a crime that so few should have so much at the expense of so many. Where is the moral imagination so abused as to call this just? Perhaps many of us feel a bit uneasy in our sleep. We are not, after all, a cruel people. And perhaps we don't really need this super-dominance that deforms others. But what can we do? The investments are made. The financial ties are established. The plants abroad are built. Our system exists. One is swept up into it. How intolerable - to be born moral, but addicted to a stolen and maybe surplus luxury. Our goodness threatens to become counterfeit before our eyes - unless we change. But change threatens us with uncertainty - at least.

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"Our problem, then, is to justify this system and give its theft another name - to make kind and moral what is neither, to perform some alchemy with language that will make this injustice seem to be a most magnanimous gift.

"A hard problem. But the Western democracies, in the hey-day of their colonial expansionism, produced a hero worthy of the task.

"Its name was free enterprise, and its partner was an illiberal liberalism that said to the poor and the dispossessed: What we acquire of your resources we repay in civilization. The white man's burden. But this was too poetic. So a much more hard-headed theory was produced. This theory said that colonial status is in fact a boon to the colonized. We give them technology and bring them into modern times.

"But this deceived no one but ourselves. We were delighted with this new theory. The poor saw in it merely an admission that their claims were irrefutable. They stood up to us, without gratitude. We were shocked - but also confused, for the poor seemed again to be right. How long is it going to be the case, we wondered, that the poor will be right and the rich will be wrong?

"Liberalism faced a crisis. In the face of the collapse of the European empires, how could it continue to hold together our twin need for richness and righteousness? How can we continue to sack the ports of Asia and still dream of Jesus?

"The challenge was met with a most ingenious solution: the ideology of anti-Communism. This was the bind: we cannot call revolution bad, because we started that way ourselves, and because it is all too easy to see why the dispossessed should rebel.

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"So we will call revolution Communism. And we will reserve for ourselves the right to say what Communism means. We take note of revolution's enormities, wrenching them where necessary from their historical context and often exaggerating them, and say: Behold, Communism is a bloodbath. We take note of those reactionaries who stole the revolution, and say: Behold, Communism is a betrayal of the people. We take note of the revolution's need to consolidate itself, and say: Behold, Communism is a tyranny.

"It has been all these things, and it will be these things again, and we will never be at a loss for those tales of atrocity that comfort us so in our self-righteousness. Nuns will be raped and bureaucrats will be disembowled. Indeed, revolution is a fury. For it is a letting loose of outrages pent up sometimes over centuries. But the more brutal and longer-lasting the suppression of this energy, all the more ferocious will be its explosive release.

"Far from helping Americans deal with this truth, the anti-Communist ideology merely tries to disguise it so that things may stay the way they are. Thus, it depicts our presence in other lands not as a coercion, but a protection. It allows us even to say that the napalm in Vietnam is only another aspect of our humanitarian love - like those exorcisms in the Middle Ages that so often killed the patient. So we say to the Vietnamese peasant, the Cuban intellectual, the Peruvian worker: 'You are better dead than red. If it hurts or if you don't understand why - sorry about that'.

"This is the action of corporate liberalism. It performs for the corporate state a function quite like what the Church

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"performed for the feudal state. It seeks to justify its burdens and protect it from change. As the Church exaggerated this office in the Inquisition, so with liberalism in the McCarthy time - which, if it was a reactionary phenomenon, was still made possible by our anti-Communist corporate liberalism.

"Let me then speak directly to humanist liberals. If my facts are wrong, I will soon be corrected. But if they are right, then you may face a crisis of conscience. Corporatism or humanism; which? For it has come to that. Will you let your dreams be used? Will you be grudging apologists for the corporate state? Or will you help try to change it - not in the name of this or that blueprint or ism, but in the name of simple human decency and democracy and the vision that wise and brave men saw in the time of our own Revolution?

"And if your commitment to human value is unconditional, then disabuse yourselves of the notion that statements will bring change, if only the right statements can be written, or that interviews with the mighty will bring change if only the mighty can be reached, or that marches will bring change if only we can make them massive enough, or that policy proposals will bring change if only we can make them responsible enough.

"We are dealing now with a colossus that does not want to be changed. It will not change itself. It will not cooperate with those who want to change it. Those allies of ours in the government - are they really our allies? If they are, then they don't need advice, they need constituencies; they don't need study groups, they need a movement. And if they are not, then all the more reason for building that movement with a most relentless conviction.

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"There are people in this country today who are trying to build that movement, who aim at nothing less than a humanist reformation. And the humanist liberals must understand that it is this movement with which their own best hopes are most in tune. We radicals know the same history that you liberals know, and we can understand your occasional cynicism, exasperation, and even distrust. But we ask you to put these aside and help us risk a leap. Help us find enough time for the enormous work that needs doing here. Help us build. Help us shake the future in the name of plain human hope."

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The verbatim text of the above speech was reprinted in the January, 1966, issue of "Liberation" in an article captioned, "Let Us Shape The Future". The article identifies this as a reprint of a speech delivered by the subject November 27, 1965, on the "March on Washington to End The War in Vietnam". "Liberation" is identified in this publication as a "monthly of revolutionary non-violence" published at 5 Beakem Street, New York, New York.

A review of the above noted speech of subject's was contained in the March, 1966, issue of "Monthly Review" in an article entitled "Oglesby's Speech", by STEVE NEWMAN. NEWMAN is identified therein as a member of the Progressive Labor Party. In the review he states his intention to clarify and sharpen some of the points in the "basically good speech" CARL OGLESBY made at Washington, D.C.

A characterization of the Progressive Labor Party appears in the appendix attached hereto.

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"The debate got hotter and hotter but still seemed well under control. Finally moderator SHUNSAKE TSURUMI, in charge of the first part of the program, called on a 'bearded American' from the audience. His name was CARL OGLESBY, a leader for SDS.

"Upon hearing that this meeting would be held today", the press reported OGLESBY as saying, "I flew to Japan from the opposite side of the earth. The atmosphere is so good that I feel I am one of your friends. I think the way the United States has chosen is very difficult no matter what Ambassador REISCHAUER thinks. I can never forgive what the United States is doing in Vietnam now". He was further quoted by the Tokyo papers as saying, "I went to Vietnam and witnessed an American burning a child to death with his cigarette lighter. I saw napalm too. I was ashamed of myself.

"As he went on the liberal democrats became angrier and angrier. They claimed the moderator 'had schemed it, that the operation was unfair and that it should be stopped immediately'.

"The 24 participating speakers began to shout at each other. The audience then joined in...

"Trembling in excitement the chief producer", according to the Sunday Mainichi, "ordered his man to convey a message to the moderator, 'if this confusion continues we will cut the broadcast'. The moderator intervened, stopped the bearded American and apologized".

The article concludes that the management of the Japanese television channel cancelled the program and went off the air.

"The Militant"  
New York City,  
New York  
September 27, 1965

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13. Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut,  
February 11, 1966

A meeting sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association on Trinity College and a group of students hoping to form a chapter of SDS at that college was held at the Goodwin Theatre, Trinity College, February 11, 1966. The meeting was addressed by subject in a talk entitled "Revolution and Containment". His talk concerned an explanation of the origin of the Cold War after World War II and ended with an attack on United States policy in Vietnam.

The talk was well researched, capably delivered and well received by an audience of some 400. The speaker appeared to be an intelligent idealist who, although critical of United States policy in Vietnam, condemned Russian intervention in Hungary as well. He stated the United States and Russia are cooperating against China and that while United States policy calls for a "free world" it approves anti-Communist dictators in the so-called "free world".

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[REDACTED]  
Trinity College,  
Hartford, Connecticut  
February 16, 1966

14. Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut  
February 11, 1966

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An article published at New Haven, Connecticut February, 1966, reports that subject spoke on the topic "World Revolution and American Containment", at a meeting sponsored by Yale - New Haven Chapter, SDS, held February 11, 1966, at Yale University Law School auditorium.

In this talk subject stated the United States has failed in Vietnam because of a United States "Asian policy which seeks to stabilize the world in an era of great revolution". He described this policy as an Asian extension of United States policies of "containment and co-existence" with the Russians, which, he said, has beguiled the United States because of the success of this policy in post-war Europe. He was quoted as stating, "Our leaders realize the Vietnam revolution is an internal revolution. Hanoi is recognized as the traditional enemy of China but still our argument is to react according to our European policy". He stressed, according to the article, that the condition of Asia today cannot be compared to Europe in 1946. He said "Europe was not revolutionary, but Asia is. In Europe we don't find racism and exploitation. Unlike Europe no international monolithic communist party exists in Asia."

He concluded the United States must withdraw immediately from Vietnam, make reparations to Laos and Cambodia, promise never again to intervene in a revolutionary struggle and must revise its Chinese policy.

"The Yale Daily  
News"  
New Haven, Connecticut  
February 14, 1966

15. U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan,  
February 28, 1966

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Subject made a speech at Angell Auditorium, U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, on February 28, 1966, the title of which



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was announced as "American Containment and World Revolution". His theme principally concerned "U.S. imperialism" and the speech repeatedly ran to the effect the United States has no business interfering with revolutions wherever they occur throughout the world. He cited recent revolutions and United States action relative to such events, and consistently criticized United States policy as relating to "domestic revolutions" in other countries.

SF T-27  
3/1/66

16. Los Angeles, California,  
March 11, 1966

A Unitarian Public Forum was held at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, California, March 11, 1966. The guest speaker for the occasion was Subject, who spoke on "American Containment in World Revolution." In his remarks he explained the student protest movement against United States foreign policy, representing the point of view of the "new left" in American politics. Subject said United States interference in the political revolutions of other nations is in violation of our own democratic ideals. He said the U. S. should practice what it preaches and recognize the dignity of the individual and his right to self-determination.

SF T-28  
3/22/66

17. Adrian College, Adrian, Michigan,  
February 25, 1966

Subject participated in a program billed as "Debates on U. S. Foreign Policy" held at Adrian College, Adrian, Michigan, February 25, 1966. In this appearance Subject restated his well established line of opposition to U. S. intervention.

In a private discussion following this appearance he acknowledged that while he was an "anarchist, he was against bureaucracy of any kind". In explaining this comment Subject said he could not tolerate the "bureaucracy" which exists at SDS headquarters, Chicago, Illinois, and, therefore, visited that office as infrequently as possible.

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18. "Cause of the Month Club", New York  
City, New York, May 24, 1966

Subject spoke at the "Cause of the Month Club" at the Washington Hotel, Lexington Avenue, New York City, New York, on May 24, 1966. He said in this speech that more disruption in the country was necessary to stop the war in Vietnam. He said that he was new to the "Movement" and to the organization, SDS, and that he was "feeling his way" with the issues. He said there was a group in the U. S. known as "Steven Sonial Liberals" who were not willing to put up any real opposition to the Government. He discussed the Michigan political situation where he said the man "Running for the Senate on the peace ticket was further to the right than the regular democratic candidate". He stated that opposition to the war in Vietnam was mounting on the campuses.

Additionally he stated that "Black nationalism was on the rise because poor people were tired of being told what they should want when they are capable of determining this for themselves." He added that the "poor whites" were getting ready for an uprising, because of not being given enough say concerning their needs.

SF T-29,  
6/11/66

19. Subject's Appearance on Television

On March 20, 1967, [redacted] of WCPO-TV, Cincinnati, Ohio, furnished a tape of the TV program "Impact" on which Subject appeared as a guest on March 19, 1967. An explanation of the program format and a transcription of the recording is set forth in Section VI of this report. b6 b7C

20. Democratic National Convention, Chicago,  
Illinois, August, 1968

On December 3, 1968, [redacted] New York City, [redacted] advised that he was present in Chicago, Illinois, during the disturbances arising out of the Democratic National Convention in August, 1968. b6 b7C

[redacted] advised that on the afternoon of Wednesday, August 28, 1968, at Lincoln Park, a group of people lined up b6 b7C

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for a march to the amphitheater. CARL OGLESBY took charge of a bullhorn and was heard to state that people should "go into the streets and do your own thing."

Information received from Naval Investigative Service Office (NISO), Chicago, Illinois, on September 6, 1968, indicated a tape recording was made of speeches at the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam Mass Rally, Wednesday, August 28, 1968. The information was received to the effect that while efforts were made to tape the entire rally, there was considerable background noise from aircraft flying over the area, and portions of the speakers' addresses were inaudible due to their moving away from the microphone, or shouting so loud, their modulation was extremely poor.

Following his introduction, OGLESBY reportedly made the following comments:

"It's the same here. It's here the way it was in Watts. It's here the way it was in Saigon. It's here the way it was in Bolivia, in Peru, in South Africa. We need revolutions now. There is a fight going on. That fight is not going to be fought out with creampuffs. It's not going to be won by nice words. It's going to be won only through the extent that we decide to fight that fight.

"We don't have any alternative. We can't give up here and apologize to the blue bonnets...We do this because we understand that nothing less than a fight can even insure our survival...We cannot survive here except if you fight for your rights."

A source who knows CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR., by sight, identified the two photographs of the white male with the bill peaked cap, dark jacket and trousers, and wearing sunglasses at the Grant Park Band Shell, Chicago, Illinois, August 28, 1968, as being identical with CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR. who had been a resident of Yellow Springs, Ohio.

SF T-31,  
10/17/68

[redacted] Illinois, advised on September 12, 1968, that he was in the

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vicinity of Grant Park, Chicago, on August 28, 1968. He recalled that a man named OGLESBY, formerly President of SDS, spoke, but he recalled no remarks made by OGLESBY.

CARL OGLESBY was one of the speakers at the rally in Grant Park, Chicago, Illinois, on August 28, 1968. OGLESBY described the Chicago Police Department as "the reality of America" and stated that America had better change that reality.

SF T-32, 8/30/68

21. Rally at Washington, D.C.  
November 5, 1968

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Literature distributed by the Washington Regional Office of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in the Washington, D.C. area announced that SDS would sponsor a rally at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., beginning at noon on November 5, 1966, and march to the White House after the rally.

According to the literature, students who are united in opposition to the "undemocratic elections," would participate. Students were asked to join "in the fight to end racism, poverty, imperialism, and plastic America, and in the struggle to create a new society, which is just, creative, and rationally productive."

Source advised that a regional meeting of SDS was held in Washington, D.C. on the night of October 27, 1968, to discuss plans for the November 5, 1968 rally.

According to the source, the possibility of a confrontation with the police was discussed, and it was agreed to violently confront the police if necessary. MIKE SPIEGEL, an SDS regional organizer, urged those present to inform SDS chapters of the possibility of "being busted," and suggested that everyone "be prepared."

SF T-3, 10/29/68

On November 5, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI observed that Subject began speaking at approximately 12:45 PM at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C.

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OGLESBY stated that the new generation has been forming for a long time, and has now been forced into the streets by society. He said the new generation will take over the streets by violence if necessary. OGLESBY stated it is no pleasure to be educated "under the wand of the pigs," and that the finest thing this country has produced is kids that understand America.

OGLESBY stated that black racism does not hurt whites, but that white racism hurts the blacks. He said that the Vietnam situation is part of the system, and that the system does not change.

OGLESBY stated that gatherings such as theirs were a step towards solving the problems of the nation..

As OGLESBY finished his speech, the entire crowd began running toward Constitution Avenue, and then east on Constitution. Some cherry bombs or small firecrackers were thrown. Some of the leaders of the crowd were observed to have chains wrapped around their fists. Police kept most of the demonstrators on the sidewalk, but at about 1:20 PM, a fight developed between the police and demonstrators at 20th Street and Constitution Avenue, Northwest.

Subsequently, altercations broke out between the demonstrators and the police.

On November 6, 1968, Inspector [REDACTED] Intelligence Division, Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) reported that 118 individuals were arrested by the MPD and the U.S. Park Police during the SDS activity on November 5, 1968.

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Source advised that Subject was the featured speaker at an SDS sponsored rally at Gaston Hall, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., on November 3, 1968. OGLESBY was introduced as a class president of SDS. He stated that the college administration, the police, and the government are not representing or assisting students in the community. OGLESBY stated that the only way students can change the present structure is to obtain their education and then move into positions in the power structure.

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11/4/68

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The "Diamond Back" a University of Maryland newspaper, carried an article entitled, "Stay Within System, Die Politer -- Oglesby" on page 2 of the November 5, 1968 edition.

According to the article, OGLESBY spoke before 250 persons at a gathering on the University of Maryland Campus sponsored by SDS on November 4, 1968.

According to the article, OGLESBY indicated that those who worked within the system for change, can do nothing more than die politer deaths. According to the article, OGLESBY stated, "Western man -- born in the renaissance, fired in the enlightenment and tried in countless revolutions. is now a cog in a consistently refined and effective machine." OGLESBY's solution to the situation is, "to build an independent political force that is not beholden to those now in power." He stated, "to operate politically, you have to be somekind of crazy, but you do it because the system drives you crazy."

Source advised that Subject gave a speech which lasted approximately 25 minutes. Subject in his speech related that the voters had no choice for president in the election, and that the way to protest their dissatisfaction with the political system way was to boycott the polls.

SF T-35  
11/4/68

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22. Conference of Students For a  
Democratic Society (SDS),  
Tallahassee, Florida, November 8-10, 1968

On November 8, 1968, [REDACTED]  
Travelodge Motel, West Tennessee Street, Tallahassee, advised  
that a CARL OGLESBY had checked into this motel on November 8,  
1968, and had reservations for the nights of November 8 and 9,  
1968. OGLESBY gave address as "Ramparts Magazine, San Francisco,  
California" and indicated represented Student Government. His  
bill is to be mailed to the Student Government, University Union,  
Florida State University, Tallahassee.

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SF T-30 on November 8, 1968, advised that CARL OGLESBY  
spoke at the University Union, FSU, Tallahassee at 8:15 PM,  
November 8, 1968. The speech was open to the public and had  
been advertised in the FSU student newspaper, "The Flambeau."  
Approximately 250 people, mostly students, were present for the  
speech and many appeared to be there out of curiosity.

OGLESBY was introduced to the audience by JAMES TAIT,  
representing the FSU Student Government lecture series, who  
announced that OGLESBY has been invited to speak by the Student  
Government. He introduced OGLESBY as past national president  
of SDS.

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Oglesby spoke on the Plight of American Society and the Movement. He spoke of the history of the "movement" and indicated the movement was against the present establishment and for a breaking away from the established system in the United States. He stated that the movement began growing during World War I, World War II and the Korean War based on the discontent of certain segments of American society with the fact that the established system was not solving any of this country's most pressing problems. This dissatisfaction grew into the "beatnik" movement of the 1950s and the "new left," including SDS, in the 1960s.

Oglesby claimed that SDS is growing at a fantastic rate and as an example, he cited the fact that the SDS Chapter at the University of Wisconsin now has over four hundred members. He stated that SDS has a good representation on college campuses and is now placing strong emphasis on growth among young people of high school age.

Oglesby talked about white and black racism. He said the government defines the race problem as white racism, when the basic problem really stems from the fact that blacks have no power to combat white racism. Black men can not wait for white men to change so the black man, therefore, has found he has to liberate himself and this has brought about the "black power" concept.

Oglesby said that police brutality has made some blacks militant. He indicated that the courageous action of blacks in the face of severe police action at Greensboro, North Carolina in the 1960s turned some liberals into radicals.

Oglesby said that the war in Vietnam was really an unprovoked attack by the United States and SDS is opposed to this war. He said that United States politicians do not understand this war themselves, so can not find a solution in the matter because they can not even define the need to be there.

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Oglesby stated that he was at Chicago during the Democratic Convention in 1968. During the second or third day, there was jeering by some demonstrators who were new in the movement. They had no intention of harming anyone and the worst thing they did was to sleep in the park. Police turned blinding lights on the demonstrators and officers on motorcycles ran over some of them.

Oglesby said he gave a speech in a band shell during the convention before demonstrators and as he was giving a speech, a man climbed up a flagpole and tore down the American Flag and put up the "new left" flag in its place. Police then moved in with violence, although it was later determined that the man who climbed the flagpole was in fact, a policeman who infiltrated the group and took the flag to start trouble.

Oglesby said that "Eastern Yankeeism" and the steel and oil interests compose the elite power base in this country and are jockeying to control the European markets. He indicated President-Elect Nixon may be aligned with these interests.

Oglesby said that unless the government changes, it appears that the police will be more violent and militant and we will have to decide which way to go.

During the question and answer portion at the end of the speech, Oglesby was asked whether a person should be violent or non-violent. He replied that the only justifications for violence was in self-defense of your position. When asked whether he could suggest a better system than the present system in the United States which he had criticized, Oglesby answered that this was a complex problem and he had no answer. Oglesby was asked what he would do if drafted and he emphasized that this is strictly a personal decision for each individual to make, but that he, personally, would not desire to be drafted. Oglesby mentioned Marxism in connection with a governmental illustration, but made no specific proposals regarding Marxism. Oglesby

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mentioned that the FBI is investigating the SDS because they think SDS is subversive and jokingly said that if they think we are, maybe we are.

SF T-30, 11/8/68

23. "Guardian" Function at New  
York City, December 5, 1968

Source advised that on December 5, 1968, the "Guardian" sponsored a function at the Fillmore East Theater, Second Avenue at Sixth Street, New York City. The title of the affair was "Radical Prospectives: 1969," a "Guardian" benefit.

Source advised that BERNADINE DOHRN, National Organizational Secretary of SDS introduced the speakers which included Subject.

Source advised that OGLESBY's general theme was where the movement was going, and his talk was in the manner of a rally or pep-type talk to get the audience's attention.

SF T-36, 12/6/68

A characterization of the "Guardian" is on an appendix page.

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24. Teach-In, Columbia University

On January 15, 1969, OGLESBY attended and was listed as a speaker at a "teach-in" sponsored by SDS, Columbia University, New York, held at McMillin Theatre, 116th Street and Broadway, Columbia University. The "teach-in" celebrated the 10th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.

SF T-37  
1/16/69

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25. ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION WITH DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE  
PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL, WASHINGTON, D. C. JANUARY 18-20, 1969

On 1/18/69, a group practiced for the dramatic roles they intended to play during a counter-inaugural parade the following day. This group included people from SDS and other groups. They practiced singing in a mournful manner "America, The Beautiful", marching and carrying caskets and aping wounded war veterans, etc. CARL OGLESBY, former SDS president, sat in and offered instructions and advice. This group was subsequently the one which produced the confrontation and disorders in front of the Smithsonian Museum of History and Technology on the following Sunday when Vice President AGNEW was having his reception. This was the hard core group committed to violence and any other kinds of protests on Monday, January 20, 1969, during the Inaugural Parade.

SF T-26  
1/22/69

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26. University of Michigan,  
February 9 and 10, 1969

SF T-38 advised 2/14/69

that CARL OGLESBY, billed as a former national president of SDS, lectured at the University of Michigan (U of M) 2/9/69 in connection with an event entitled "Circus of Education".

Source advised that OGLESBY was one of a large number of speakers who appeared in this teach-in type of event which involved principally a seminar-type of overnight discussion between intellectuals.

Source advised that OGLESBY also spoke at a SDS rally held the following day, 2/10/69, at 1:00 p.m. in the "Fishbowl" on the U of M campus. OGLESBY was accompanied on this latter appearance by one RICHARD OESTRIEHER of the Michigan State University (MSU) Strike Committee.

OGLESBY, on both of his appearances, principally at the latter speech, emphasized that the abolition of language requirements, a principal target of radical activities at the U of M recently, is but a minor element not worthy of serious consideration. He advocated that SDS get out of its shell of university reform on such small issues. He recommended to them that they become involved in on-going protests at MSU concerning the dismissal of Professor BERTRAM GARSKOFF.

He alluded further to the denial of academic tenure of two U of M radical professors, THOMAS MAYER, and JULIAN GENDELL. He said that GARSKOFF, MAYER, and GENDELL were all being persecuted because of their political beliefs. He recommended that students become involved in a movement to protest the refusal of tenure to these professors.

SF T-39

advised on 2/10/69 that subject on that date was the principal speaker at an SDS-called rally held in the "Fishbowl", U of M. Source advised that the main thrust of OGLESBY's comments were that students should not become lost in petty academic reform movements. He recommended that students become involved in the fight against increasing repression on American campuses involving the dismissal of radical professors. He recommended that students become involved in the activity at MSU protesting the dismissal of Professor BERTRAM GARSKOFF and that they defend on their own campus the tenure rights of Professors THOMAS MAYER and JULIAN GENDELL.

CPO-734

He was cautious in his statements above in noting that ~~SECRET~~ not participate in such activities nor incite such activities for if he did so, he would be regarded as an "outside agitator".

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E. TRAVEL

1. Saigon Trip

SF T-40 advised in June, 1965, that CARL OGLESBY, newly elected President of SDS, would travel on an all expense paid "teach-in" type tour to Paris, Algiers, and Saigon. Informant confirmed that OGLESBY would make the above referred to Saigon travel in July, 1965, and that he may also go to Tokyo, Japan, if he made contact with undisclosed sources while on his travel to Saigon, South Vietnam.

An article appeared in the "Ann Arbor News," Ann Arbor, Michigan, July 22, 1965, page 3, captioned "Vietnamese Said Critical of U.S." This article states that CARL OGLESBY, President of the SDS, had returned the previous day from Vietnam with the impression that "all political groups in Saigon, both left and right, are critical of U.S. policy in Viet Nam."

The article states that OGLESBY and two other members of the "teach-in movement in protest against United States policy in that Asian nation" had made a fact finding mission to sound out Vietnamese opinion regarding the Vietnam war.

In this article, OGLESBY is quoted as having said "top men in Saigon, government officials, professors, wealthy Catholic businessmen and others, expressed the feeling that this situation had deteriorated so far that everything possible must be done to make peace." The article continues quoting OGLESBY as saying, "They all feel that the U.S. has had an opportunity to help Viet Nam since 1954, but that all of its efforts have ended in failure."

"Even the rightwingers feel that the Americans are not handling themselves well in the situation and that they don't care about what happens to the Vietnamese and are really only fighting against communism and China."

He said American soldiers who have been at the front say that "U.S. figures on casualties grossly exaggerate the number of Viet Cong killed and make gross understatements in respect to our side."

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ/cab

He and professors made what they called informal and indirect contact with spokesmen for the National Liberation Front (NLF).

The article reports that the trip to Vietnam was made by BROWNE, MIRSKY and OGLESBY under the sponsorship of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy, a group which represents a continuation of the teach-in movement on a national level.

OGLESBY, a former technical writer for Bendix Systems Division here for a number of years, left the employment of that firm about a month ago to assume the national presidency of the SDS. He expects to move to Chicago in about two weeks to take up the duties at the organization's national headquarters in that city. His fact finding mission to Vietnam war financed by donations solicited by the society through its newsletter.

An article appeared in the "Michigan Daily," a student publication at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, dated August 7, 1965, page 1, entitled, "Oglesby, Gitlin Discuss Southeast Asia Experience."

This article states that CARL OGLESBY, national President of the SDS, and Mrs. NANCY GITLIN, representing groups working for peace in Vietnam, spoke August 6, 1965, at a public meeting at the Ann Arbor, Michigan, Public Library regarding their recent fact finding missions in Southeast Asia.

OGLESBY discussed his trip to South Vietnam describing that country as a "political ghetto." The article concerning OGLESBY's speech reports in part as follows:

"He indicated that he had talked to people of every extreme of political ideology, and had discovered that the most pro-American view is one of fear of the Viet Cong combined with exasperation at the clumsiness and cruelty of the Americans in their prosecution of the war.

"The most important aspect of the mission was the conveyance of a new peace offer, which, Oglesby said, had come from reliable spokesmen who had extensive contact with the Viet Cong. The new peace

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proposal contained four points, the most important of which was a call for a cease-fire and negotiations without the prior condition that the United States withdraw its troops.

Oglesby also received a similar peace proposal from a group of powerful, wealthy professionals and businessmen in the South who, although they feared the Viet Cong, wanted to find a way to peace at any cost. They did this even though they realized that free elections with the possibility of a Viet Cong victory might put them in a position of great danger."

## 2. Tokyo Trip

SF T-40 advised on August 12, 1965, that Subject was on that date departing for Tokyo, Japan, to address a "Tokyo Teach-In," and that he had intended to return to Chicago, Illinois, August 16, 1965, to be available to address a University of Chicago faculty meeting on August 17, 1965.

SF T-41, a confidential source abroad, advised on August 20, 1965, that CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, a United States citizen born July 30, 1935, entered Japan on August 14, 1965, via Northwest Airlines Flight Number 9 from Chicago, Illinois, and departed Tokyo, Japan, on August 16, 1965, via Northwest Airlines Flight destined for Detroit, Michigan. While in Tokyo, he resided at the Toshi Center Hotel. He gave a "home address" as in care of GAMSON, 1413 Granger, Ann Arbor, Michigan. He identified himself as a writer and as chairman of the SDS. He carried United States Passport Number F-489267. X U

According to the informant, Subject's "sponsor" in Japan was SHUNSUKE TSURUMI, a professor at Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan, and a member of the "Japan Peace in Vietnam Committee." X U

An article appeared in "The Japan Times," published at Tokyo, Japan, August 18, 1965, concerning Professor TSURUMI and states that he organized Japan's

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CLJ/cab

first all night television debate on war and peace and described him as the son of Dr. YUSUKE TSURUMI, formerly Health and Welfare Administrator.

An article appeared in the publication entitled, "Asahi" published at Tokyo, Japan, under date August 15, 1965, concerning public ceremonies to be held at Tokyo, Japan, on the "20th Armistice Day," August 14, 1965. The article refers to various events throughout the day followed by an "all night forum" on the topic "war and peace" to be held under the auspices of the Committee for Commemoration of August 15th, composed of a group of "cultured men" including Professor TAKEO KUWAHARA and Playwright KEN KAITAKA to be held at Tokyo, Japan, August 14-15, 1965.

The article states that this "forum" was to include presentation of appeals for peace by several individuals including Chairman OGLESBY of the Students Federation for a Democratic Society described as a playwright.

### 3. Helsinki Trip

SF T-40 advised on June 22, 1965, that Subject in June, 1965, indicated that he was uncertain as to whether or not he would be able to attend the World Press Congress at Helsinki, Finland. Informant advised that this was an international congress concerned with peace and that an invitation had been directed to SDS from that congress, which invitation had been directed to the previous SDS President, PAUL POTTER. The invitation extended to POTTER had included arrangements for his expenses to be paid by the World Peace Council.

Informant noted that SDS officers regarded this as an important international conference offering opportunities to establish international contacts important to SDS. The informant advised that Subject said that he would like to attend but wished to clarify the matter of the invitation having been extended to his predecessor before making a decision to attend.

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#### 4. Visit to Japan

In an article published at New York City, in September, 1965, reference is made to a "teach-in" held in Tokyo, Japan, which is captioned, "First Tokyo Teach-In Comes To Abrupt End." The article states in part that a 24 hour "Teach-In" patterned on the American experiment in education was scheduled in Tokyo August 18, 1965, which included Japan's leading commentators, representatives of political circles, on the subject matter of the war in Vietnam.

#### 5. Toronto, Canada

It was learned in January, 1966, through the National Office of the SDS, Chicago, Illinois, that CARL OGLESBY at that time had just returned to the United States from an affair in Toronto, Canada, which was described as a "peace committee retreat."

SF T-40  
1/4/66

#### 6. Travel to Vietnam

CARL OGLESBY freely discussed his summer, 1965 travel to South Vietnam and states his belief that the United States has been guilty of committing atrocities in South Vietnam. He stated he might enjoy living in an Asian country, perhaps Vietnam, and that he favorably regards the people of Vietnam, both North and South Vietnamese. Discussing United States intervention in Vietnam, he has stated his belief that United States financial interests want to keep the Vietnamese war going because of monetary considerations. In his discussions of Vietnam, he frequently quotes MAO Tse-tung, HO Chi-minh, as well as MARX and LENIN. He appears in his discussions to have accepted certain Marxist and Communist principles and appears very pro-Asian and sincere in his professed interest in possibly living there at some future time.

In December, 1965, there was considered several "peace missions" to North Vietnam for contact with the North Vietnamese government on the part of several United States private delegations, one of which reportedly involved SANE. CARL OGLESBY was considered among various individuals as a possible participant in such a mission.

SF T-42  
12/8/65

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At the SDS National Convention held late December, 1965, a limited participation discussion concerned the recent unauthorized trip to Vietnam by TOM HAYDEN, one of the co-founders of SDS, STAUGHTON LYND of Yale University, and HERBERT APTHEKER. It was implied in this discussion that CARL OGLESBY was to have participated in this mission but was unable to do so, and, therefore, TOM HAYDEN of SDS participated.

SF T-43  
1/22/66

7. Italy

An article published at Detroit, Michigan, March 28, 1966, under caption. "Peking Gloats Protests in U.S. Against Vietnam War," refers to various demonstrations held at that time concerning United States intervention in Vietnam. The article states in part as follows:

"Nearly 7,000 persons assembled in Rome's Piazza Del Popolo to hear leftist speakers at a communist-organized rally denounce American aggression..."

"An American, CARL OGLESBY, a graduate of Kent State University and Michigan founder of SDS, an organization of the so-called New Left told the Rome rally that the presence of United States troops in Vietnam is inadmissible interference in the national questions of a country."

"The Detroit News"  
Detroit, Michigan  
3/28/66

(U) On March 27, 1966, CARL OGLESBY, President of the SDS, participated in and was a speaker at a demonstration held in Rome, Italy, by the Italian National Committee for Peace in Vietnam. He also appeared on March 29, 1966, at the Brancaccio Theatre in Rome, where he engaged in a ~~3~~

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- (U) discussion dealing with freedom in the schools and in society. The latter appearance was sponsored by an organization controlled by the Italian Communist Party. ~~(S)~~

- (U) In addition to his activities in Rome, OGLESBY lectured on the development of the peace movement in the United States at meetings sponsored by Italian Communist Party and leftist organizations in Naples on March 31, 1966; in Palermo, on April 1, 1966; in Cagliari, on March 3, 1966; and in Genoa on April 4, 1966. ~~(S)~~

- (U) He arrived in Rome, Italy, via airline from New York City on March 6, 1966, and departed Rome April 6, 1966, via air for New York City. ~~(S)~~

- (U) On his arrival in Rome, he was met by a member of the Italian Communist Party, FRANCO COPPOLA. ~~(S)~~

SF T-44, confidential  
source abroad, 5/6/66

8. Trip to Puerto Rico and  
Contact with the Peace Corps

SF T-45 advised May 26, 1966, that he had learned from a source he regarded as reliable that this source in a personal contact with the Subject on May 19, 1966 was told by the Subject that Subject had just returned from Puerto Rico where he claimed to have addressed a group of Peace Corps trainees on the Subject of "Revolution in South America" and where he claimed to have been permitted to establish an SDS chapter at a Peace Corps camp in Puerto Rico.

SF T-46 advised on June 6, 1966, that he knew Subject during April or May, 1966 visited Puerto Rico. SF T-46 advised that he had no information regarding the purpose of that travel; however, he stated he assumed the visit was in connection with official business for SDS, inasmuch as to the informant's knowledge all of Subject's travel during 1965-66 was arranged by or made on behalf of the SDS organization.

A source advised in May, 1966, that he had learned from a source he regarded to be reliable, that this source in a personal contact with Subject on May 19, 1966, was told by the Subject that Subject had just returned from Puerto Rico

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ/cab

where he claimed he had addressed a group of Peace Corps trainees on the subject of "Revolution in South America" and where he claimed to have been permitted to have established an SDS chapter at the Peace Corps camp in Puerto Rico.

SF T-45  
5/26/66

Subject, during April of May, 1966, was known to have visited Puerto Rico, presumably in connection with official business of SDS, inasmuch as to the informant's knowledge all of Subject's travel during 1965-66, was arranged by or made on behalf of the SDS organization.

SF T-46  
6/6/66

It was learned through SDS headquarters, Chicago, Illinois, in June, 1966, that CARL OGLESBY had been recently in Puerto Rico attempting to organize SDS chapters there.

SF T-47  
6/14/66

[redacted] Field Training, San Juan, Puerto Rico, advised on July 13, 1966, that he had determined that one CARL OGLESBY had visited Camp Radly, Peace Corps camp near Arecibo, Puerto Rico, from May 9 through May 12, 1966, at the invitation of [redacted] at Camp Radly. He identified OGLESBY as President of the SDS, furnished a home address of 803 McKinley Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. He advised OGLESBY gave lectures during the above period to groups at Camp Radly, representing the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Columbia, Peru and Costa Rica. [redacted] advised he was unable to determine if a chapter of the SDS was established at the Peace Corps camps.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] Representative for the University of Oklahoma, assigned to Camp Crozier, Puerto Rico, on August 9, 1966, advised there were few individuals

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SF 100-55497  
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still with this camp who were there during the spring of 1966, when one of the camp's guest speakers was CARL OGLESBY. She advised that OGLESBY's name had been given to her by [redacted] at the camp. b6 b7C

[redacted] She advised that he arrived at this camp on May 1, 1966, and stayed for approximately three days, speaking and giving seminars to the trainees. She said she had no information which would indicate that he had formed a group connected with the SDS at that camp. She advised that all of the trainees who were located at this camp in the spring of 1966, are gone and none of them are together as a group.

[redacted] Camp Crozier, Puerto Rico, advised on August 19, 1966, that he was at Camp Crozier during the visit of CARL OGLESBY, spring of 1966, and attended several of OGLESBY's speeches. He stated Subject talked principally about the work of SDS in community development in the Chicago, Illinois area. He recalls that Subject made some comment about having been "framed" by the Chicago City Police Department in connection with an arrest which, according to OGLESBY, was an indication of the success of his group in that area. He advised he heard OGLESBY say nothing which would indicate that any political doctrine was put forth by OGLESBY during his stay at this camp. b6 b7C

[redacted] Railway Express Agency, San Juan, Puerto Rico, advised September 6, 1966, that he had material in his office which had been sent by the SDS, Chicago, Illinois, to CARL OGLESBY, Peace Corps, Camp Lawrence Radly, Arecibo, Puerto Rico, and that the shipment had not been picked up by the consignee. He stated that he had received instructions from SDS, Chicago, Illinois, to open the package and communicate its contents. He stated that included in this material was the "National Vietnam Examination." b6 b7C

9. SPEAKING BEFORE COMMUNIST PARTY GROUPS IN ENGLAND

(U)

[redacted]  
[redacted] b7D  
[redacted] (S)

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SF 100-55497

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(U)

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] (S)

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(U)

"London: CARL OGLESBY, U. S. student speaks on Vietnam Nov. 1, Mahatma Gandhi Hall, (B.P.C. and supporting organizations)." (S)

(U)

The District Bulletin of the Surrey District of the Communist Party of Great Britain, dated October 7, 1966, published the fact that OGLESBY would speak at meetings in Kingston and Croydon, England, on October 31, 1966. (S)

(U)

The "Morning Star," (official newspaper of the Communist Party of Great Britain) dated October 27, 1966, published a two column item about OGLESBY, and in the same issue there was a notice about a speech which he was scheduled to make in Glasgow, Scotland, on November 6, 1966. (S)

On January 12, 1967, [REDACTED]

b1 per  
b3 CIA

(S)

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] (S)

b1 per  
b3 CIA

(S)

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] (S)

#### 10. WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL IN SWEDEN

On May 15 and June 5, 1967, [REDACTED] stated that OGLESBY was in Stockholm, Sweden, attending the War Crimes Tribunal being held in that city.

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SF T-46  
5/15/67, 6/5/67

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(S)

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] ~~(S)~~

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SF T-19  
another Government  
agency which conducts  
security investigations,  
1967

(S)

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] ~~(S)~~

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SF T-49  
12/14/67

(S)

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] ~~(S)~~

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SF T-49  
12/21/67

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12. Trip to Cuba

CARL OGLESBY is one of 5 SDS representatives from the United States who are invited to attend the Tenth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution in early January, 1969. OGLESBY has an arrangement to write an article for "Life" Magazine.

SF T-50  
12/16/68

(S)

[REDACTED]

b1  
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SF T-49  
12/6/68

As of December 30, 1968, an associate of CARL OGLESBY stated that OGLESBY was in Cuba for two weeks on an assignment for "Life" Magazine and might stay for a longer period.

SF T-4  
1/3/69

The Cuban Aviation Company passenger manifest for Flight 465 from Mexico, D.F., to Havana, Cuba, on December 27, 1968, listed CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, a United States citizen bearing Passport Number F489267, as a passenger. He was listed as a tourist destined for the Cuban Institute for People's Friendship.

(S)

[REDACTED]

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SF T-51  
12/30/68  
1/28/69

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The United States Passport file of OGLESBY, United States Passport Number F489267, was again reviewed at Washington, D.C. on January 14, 1969. In addition to information set forth in Part I of this report, this review disclosed there are two additional letters - one from a DENISE ST. GERMAIN, on the letterhead of "Time" Magazine, dated December 16, 1968, to the Passport Office, requested that OGLESBY's passport be validated for travel to Cuba, stating that he had been assigned by "Life" Magazine to cover the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution; the second letter was written by a DAVID NAMESS, Articles Editor, "Life" Magazine, dated December 10, 1968, to the Passport Office, in which it was stated that OGLESBY had been assigned by "Life" to cover the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution. It was stated by DENISE ST. GERMAIN that OGLESBY planned to leave from San Francisco for Mexico City on December 25, 1968, and from there to Havana on December 27, 1968. (S) U

The Passport file reflects that Miss ST. GERMAIN was advised by the Passport Office, in a letter dated January 9, 1969, that her request for validation of OGLESBY's passport had been denied, and that the American Embassy at Mexico City had been so advised of this decision as she had requested (S) U

(S)

[REDACTED]

b1

SF T-19  
1/13/69

OGLESBY, as of January 28, 1969, had received a check for \$750, from Time, Inc., publishers of "Life Magazine."

SF T-52  
1/29/69

On January 24, 1969, an associate of OGLESBY stated that OGLESBY had received \$3,000 for an article which OGLESBY had written for "Life" magazine on his trip to Cuba.

SF T-53  
1/24/69

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The article on "Cuba" written by OGLESBY, which was published in "Life" magazine is set forth in this report under Writings of the Subject.

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III. ACTIVITIES CONNECTED WITH  
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. Inter-University Committee for  
Debate on Foreign Policy (IUCDFP)

The Inter-University Committee is a national Vietnam protest-type organization, originated and headquartered at Ann Arbor, Michigan, aimed at altering U.S. foreign policy through activities of individuals connected with the academic and intellectual community, nationally and to some degree internationally. During 1965, at the University of Michigan (U of M) its recognized leader was Professor ANATOLE RAPOPORT of the U of M.

SF T-54, 4/18/66

SF T-55 advised on September 23, 1965, the IUCDFP is a national Vietnam protest-type organization which maintains headquarters at the U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan. He advised the organization grew out of incident at the U of M in March, 1965, when a group of some U of M faculty members threatened a one day "strike" in their classes in the nature of a Vietnam protest. He advised that the "teach-in" device was substituted for the "strike" action and the success of the initial "teach-in" succeeded in a repetition of that activity nation wide, largely under the encouragement of the IUCDFP. He advised this organization sponsored the "National Teach-In" held in Washington, D.C., May 15, 1965, supported the SDS "March on Washington" in April, 1965, sponsored a national television debate with MC GEORGE BUNDY of the White House

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staff, and most recently held an international conference "Alternative Prospectives on Vietnam" at the U of M in September, 1965. He advised that all of the activities of this organization have generally involved a protest of the U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

SF T-55 advised that CARL OGLESBY has been active at the U of M, Ann Arbor, with the IUCDFP in each of its activities which have involved activity on the U of M campus. SF T-55 described OGLESBY as a playwright of some ability who has been employed with private industry at Ann Arbor, Michigan, until the recent past. He advised that OGLESBY has not been officially connected with the U of M either as a student or member of the faculty since about 1961. He advised that OGLESBY's name has been identified with those of a group of young faculty or graduate students who have assisted in the "teach-in" type seminars held at the U of M, at the original "teach-in" held in May, 1965, and at subsequent "teach-ins" held May 15, 1965 and September 18, 1965.

CARL OGLESBY, National President of SDS, in March, 1966, privately acknowledged his close association with officials of the IUCDFP at U of M and consultations with them for IUCDFP events. In this connection, he advised that arrangements are made, participants scheduled, and a schedule for the event published without any efforts at "tight organizing" such events. He said there is an attempt made to avoid an appearance that such affairs are well organized. OGLESBY, in this connection, stated his opinion that such Vietnam protest activity nationally was among the most important activity of its kind in the U.S. today.

SF T-46, 3/9/66

CARL OGLESBY and Professor ANATOLE RAPOPORT, a U of M Professor and 1965 National Secretary of the IUCDFP, both served as "National Sponsors" to the SDS, March, 1965 March on Washington while Ann Arbor sponsors to that event were U of M faculty identified with the leadership of IUCDFP at the U of M.

SF T-54, 4/18/66

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The IUCDFP arranged a "Peace Mission" to Saigon, Vietnam, during the summer of 1965, by a three man delegation including two IUCDFP representatives and CARL OGLESBY, President of SDS. A similar mission to Indo-China was made by the Women's Strike for Peace Organization at about the same time for conferences with North Vietnam women peace representatives. The two Ann Arbor, Michigan representatives to each of the delegations referred to above, CARL OGLESBY and Mrs. TODD GITLIN, on their return from these trips, jointly addressed several Ann Arbor, Michigan groups during the summer of 1965, concerning their respective missions.

SF T-2, 9/13/65

An article published at Ann Arbor, Michigan, concerns the original "Teach-In" on Vietnam held at the U of M overnight, March 24-25, 1965. CARL OGLESBY was identified as a participant in seminars conducted in conjunction with this teach-in event.

"The Ann Arbor News"  
Ann Arbor, Michigan,  
3/24/65

The IUCDFP co-sponsored an event known as an international conference: Alternative Prospectives On Vietnam, which was held at U of M, September, 1965. In material distributed by that organization, CARL OGLESBY, SDS, was identified as one of the sponsors for the "Call" for this conference. He was also identified as "Participant" in this conference.

SF T-54, 9/20/65

The IUCDFP in May, 1966, under date May 11, 1966, circulated members of the faculty of the U of M with a mailing, soliciting support for something referred to as "National Vietnam Examination". This material enclosed a copy of the "National Vietnam Examination", which is described thereon as having been prepared by the SDS and the IUCDFP. The material identified CARL OGLESBY as one of a group of

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"authorities on Vietnam" who assisted in the preparation of this examination.

SF T-56, 5/15/66

An IUCDFP sponsored conference was held at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, September 10-11, 1966, referred to as "The National Leadership Conference". The conference consisted of representatives of some 30 anti-war - civil rights groups and the conference was described as called to bring about a national unification of the anti-war and civil rights movements throughout the U.S. The theme of the conference was "Mobilization in Demonstration". The conference included representatives of the Communist Party, the SWP and various peace and civil rights organizations. The conference planned national action to be based on an **ethical** or religious stand to be held for four days before the group was established to lead the "National Leadership Conference" and included among the proposed members of this group was CARL OGLESBY.

SF T-57, 9/12/66

Volume I, Number One, of the "Monthly News Letter" of the ADC, dated September, 1966, and entitled, "Notes From ADC", is identified on its masthead as located at 873 Broadway, second floor, New York, New York. The "News Letter" on its masthead identified its officers and included among them is the name CARL OGLESBY, identified as Co-Chairman.

SF T-58, 9/13/66

In a report of the SDS National Council Meeting of June, 1966, given at the national office of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), New York City, it was stated that CARL OGLESBY, President of SDS, had moved to support ADC against the Government's attempts to force it to register as a "foreign agent".

It was also noted that a corollary motion was also passed whereby CARL OGLESBY would ask the ADC if he could become one of its national officers.

SF T-59, 8/10/66

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B. Alexander Defense Committee (ADC)

At the SDS National Council meeting held at U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June, 1966, a report was given by CARL OGLESBY, President of SDS, on the ADC. It was pointed out that this group has been asked to register as an agent of a foreign government and that the Detroit Chapter of the ADC had advised OGLESBY of their intention not to register. In this discussion of the ADC at the SDS Council meeting, it was determined that OGLESBY would request that he be made an officer of the ADC and his own organization would back him in the event trouble arose with the Federal Government in this matter.

SF T-15, 6/22/66

At the January SWP plenum, it was announced that a doctor named NEVILLE ALEXANDER had been arrested in South Africa on a "phony" charge of trying to overthrow that Government and was being held a prisoner. It was stated that the SWP would participate in the formation of a defense committee for Doctor ALEXANDER in the U.S.

SF T-59, 2/4/65

The formation of the ADC was announced in the issue of "The Militant", dated March 8, 1965. This set forth that men and women of various political beliefs had been invited to become sponsors of the ADC. It also set forth that organizations in West Germany, England, Ireland, Japan and Algeria had already been formed to bring wide-spread support for ALEXANDER. Provisional officers of the ADC were named, including BERTA GREEN as Corresponding Secretary.

BERTA GREEN (ZUCKOFF) is a member of the SWP.

SF T-60, 10/19/64

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In material disseminated by the YSA concerning ADC during the summer of 1966, it was noted that CARL OGLESBY, President of SDS, had been authorized by SDS National Council to serve as Co-Chairman of ADC and that this action had been supported by an SDS resolution as follows:

"SDS affirms its opposition at the attempt to force the ADC to register as the agent of a foreign principal. We regard this as a clear attempt at political intimidation aimed at stifling American support for South African freedom movements. We extend our solidarity to the ADC in this fight and urge all men of good will to join us in doing so."

SF T-61, 7/1/66

C. Free University of Ann Arbor

ERIC CHESTER in January, 1966, announced that preparations were then completed to institute a Free University of Ann Arbor, then being formed at the U of M, Ann Arbor, which he described as being modeled after a similar free university recently formed in New York City. CHESTER noted that the course material would be principally organized in two major sections, one on literature, poetry, etc., for which CARL OGLESBY would be the principal instructor, and one on Marxism, for which he, ERIC CHESTER, would be the principal instructor.

SF T-1, 1/17/66

An article appeared in a publication at Detroit, Michigan, January, 1966, concerning the founding of a free university at Ann Arbor, which states in part as follows:

"A University community that invented the teach-in and has become the Mid-Western fount of the so-called 'New Left' ideology was bound to catch up with those counterparts on both coasts in developing such a university ... 'the faculty' for instance, includes CARL OGLESBY, National Chairman for SDS, who teaches a course called 'Conversations about America'".

"The Detroit News"  
Detroit, Michigan  
1/30/66

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ERIC CHESTER of the U of M and one of the co-founders of the Free University of Ann Arbor, publicly identified himself in the spring of 1966, at U of M, as one of two co-founders of a chapter of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA), on the formation of that organization at the U of M, April, 1966.

SF T-1, 5/30/66

A characterization of the DCA appears on the appendix attached hereto.

D. National Committee For a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE)

At a New York meeting of the SWP, November, 1965, it was reported that CARL OGLESBY had signed the SANE "call" which action on his part was considered a compromise by the SWP and YSA, since he is an SDS leader, his action would be regarded as done on behalf of SDS rather than as an individual and it was believed that most SDS members would not approve of such action.

SF T-58, 11/19/65

At a SWP meeting held at New York City in November, 1965, discussion was held concerning the proposed SANE March on Washington to be held Saturday, November 27, 1965, and it was reported that CARL OGLESBY of the SDS had signed the SANE "call" for this event.

SF T-58, 11/19/66

E. Ann Arbor Defense Fund

A letter distributed under the letterhead of "The Ann Arbor Defense Fund", Ann Arbor, Michigan, and dated March 12, 1966, refers to court action and reclassification of Selective Service status of various students as a result of a sit-in at Ann Arbor Selective Service Office. The letter solicits support

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and contributions in a letter signed by "ROBERT SHORTT, Ann Arbor Defense Fund". The letter identifies the organization's sponsors and included among sponsors the name CARL OGLESBY, President of SDS.

SF T-62, 6/29/66

The Ann Arbor Defense Fund was formed as a vehicle to propagandize a matter growing out of the arrest of some 39 persons who sat in at the Ann Arbor Selective Service Local Board Office, October 15, 1965, as part of a national event known as the "International Days of Protest". The second purpose of the organization, the Ann Arbor Defense Fund, was to solicit contributions and other support in appeal procedures, both through the courts, appealing resulting trespass convictions on the part of student participators and to finance appeals through the Selective Service System for various students who had their Selective Service status changed as a result of their participation in this October 15, 1966, demonstration which resulted in their arrests. In the Ann Arbor, Michigan, Circuit Court, where participating demonstrators were convicted, the principles of the "Nurenberg War Crimes Trials" were attempted as a defense for those charged with an illegal trespass. The original demonstrations resulting in these arrests were arranged principally by the U of M campus chapters of the SDS and YSA.

SF T-1, 9/30/66

A characterization of YSA appears on an appendix page.

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#### IV. WRITINGS OF SUBJECT

Subject, in April, 1966, made known the fact that his new book, "World Revolution and American Containment" would be published by the McMillan Press. He described the theme of the book as being the same as set forth by him in two issues of the "New Left Notes," dated April 1, and April 8, 1966. He stated that his book would be published by the McMillan Press in a paperback form.

SF T-42 on  
4/27/66

"The Record," Supra, on page one of its issue of April 21, 1967, contains an article entitled, "Portrait of a Revolutionary" which states Subject wrote a book on "Containment and Change," in which he maintains that America needs its Vietnams and is nourished by them. According to this article the war in Vietnam itself is not only the comprehension of the American political fabric but it is a good present investment upon which America's future in the world community critically depends. The article stated corporate capitalism feeds upon the bones of those whom the society possesses; the poor, the colored, and the young.

On May 15, 1967, and June 5, 1967, SF T-46 advised Subject has been commissioned to write a second book by the publishing firm of McMillan and Company. This book concerns itself, according to source, with LORD BERTRAND RUSSELL, the British pacifist, and/or with the War Crimes Tribunal.

Subject wrote a lengthy feature article which appeared in "The Michigan Daily," U of M, Ann Arbor, October 13, 1965, captioned "A Deed of Violence Against A People." This lengthy article concerns his visit to Vietnam in 1965, and contains his commentary and quotations of his views of people he met in Vietnam. He described those with whom his group met in Vietnam as the apparent leading members of a group of some 150, who were arrested "last February" for calling upon Saigon and Hanoi to make peace.

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Material was distributed by the Chicago Committee To Defend The Bill of Rights, November, 1965, in the nature of a "Dear friend" form letter, the essence of which charged the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment were being suppressed by the United States Government. The material makes reference to announced intention of the United States Government to investigate the SDS organization. The material solicits support for the SDS and appeals for contributions to SDS to be made payable to the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. The above-described flyer enclosing a letter on the letterhead of the SDS addressed to "Dear Friend," states as follows:

"Curtailement of civil liberties is the constant plight of dissenters, especially in time of war. World War I brought to America the Espionage Act, state criminal anarchy acts, jailings, deportations, and the banning of anti-war material from the mails. World War II saw the first Smith Act prosecutions and illegal confinement of American citizens of Japanese descent. The Korean War ushered in the McCarran Act and the McCarthy era.

"Already the war in Vietnam has produced its first Congressional reaction to protest activity -- the draft card burning bill -- and the pressures are mounting daily for everyone to get into step. 'The free and open debate has occurred,' so the theory goes, 'and the question has been decided. There is consensus behind the President-of-all-the-people. Further dissent amounts to obstruction of the popular will.' Yet the escalation of the anti-war protests shows more clearly than ever before just how deep sentiment against the war is running.

"Your support is needed if the right of dissent is to be preserved. Two students reclassified 1-A for participating in anti-war demonstrations...Oakland and Austin refused demonstration permits for students...bill introduced in Congress to authorize HUAC investigations of student groups. How shall we respond? The only rights which people enjoy are those which they use and defend. The time is now. Will you help by sending a contribution?

"Yours for peace,

"CARL OGLESBY

"Carl Oglesby

"President, SDS"

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[redacted] California, advised on August 5, 1965, that he is an [redacted] who in December, [redacted] ago, [redacted] the Subject whom he described as a playwright. He advised that [redacted] on that occasion [redacted] which the Subject [redacted] He advised that on that occasion Subject [redacted] He recalled that the Subject also told him that [redacted]"

b6  
b7C  
b7D

He said that Subject [redacted] campus of the U of M. He said [redacted]

b6  
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[redacted] also recalled that [redacted] Subject's play at which time there were [redacted] He said the Subject on this occasion began defending CASTRO in an "intellectual way."

b6  
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He also recalled that on one occasion Subject [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Records of the Alumni Catalogue Office, U of M, referred to above, were found to contain a clipping from an unidentified publication bearing the date January 10, 1961, which states that a play by the Subject "Season of the Beast" would be produced at the U of M January 10-18, 1961. The play was described as the first major production of CARL P. OGLESBY then a student at the U of M. The article notes that this play was first produced at the Margo Jones Theatre, Dallas, Texas, three years previous. The article notes the play was to be directed by Professor WILLIAM P. HALSTEAD and described the play as a dramatic story of conflict in a family of North Carolina farmers.

A second clipping was located in these Alumni files bearing the date May 26, 1961, from an unidentified publication,

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referring to the presentation of the "Hopwood Awards," and described these awards as the largest cash awards for creative writing in the country. The article states the awards are from an endowment fund created by the will of the late AVERY HOPWOOD. The article states that CARL OGLESBY, of the U of M, had received the largest award in 1961, a cash award of \$1,500 for his entry in the drama division "three plays."

A clipping from an unidentified publication dated March 24, 1965, states that a play by the Subject entitled "The Hero" would be presented at the U of M May 28 - 29, 1965. The article states that Subject was at that time employed with the Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and that he was an award winning playwright for a trilogy: "Season of the Beast," "The Peace-Maker," and "The Hero." The article states that the first two plays had already been produced at the U of M by Professor KENNETH ROWE. The article notes that one ARTHUR KENDALL was to direct "The Hero."

An additional clipping was located in the Alumni records from an unidentified publication bearing the date December 3, 1964, referring to a play by the Subject entitled "Peace Maker." The article describes this play as discussing a "moral issue" and poses the question as to whether when a man knows that an act of violence is inevitable he should try to stop it any way, and poses the question as whether being a moral man is worth it. The article states that the author leaves the answers to these questions to his audience.

The article states that this play is based on the Hatfield-McCoy Vendetta of the post Civil War era. The article states the author referred to it as an "issue play," and basically an "anti-war" play. The article states that while physical force is the central theme of the play it demonstrates that social pressures and public opinion could exert some restraint against physical force.

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# Business International: epilogue

by Carl Oglesby

I never got any direct feedback from Business International on my report of our meeting with them (New Left Notes, August 12), although I did hear that they were unhappy about it, thought I'd betrayed them. But they did respond to a piece on the multinational corporations which I published in Interplay magazine (November 1968). The November 29, 1968 issue of their \$150-a-year weekly newsletter, Business International, reviewed all five studies in the Interplay symposium and printed two, one by Long Island University economist Sidney Rollo (a consultant to the International Chamber of Commerce) and another by Antonio T. Knoppers, Senior VP of Merck & Co., the big drug firm. The other three pieces suggested more or less politely that the multinational companies were imperial Trojan Horses. French economist Pierre Uri, for example, came straight to the point—"The multinational companies are, basically, American corporations"—and recommended European self-protection measures like a tax on US investment. This miffed the BI man ("A good European may be Mr. Uri, but a poor internationalist"), but his thunderbolts were reserved for me.

The piece is titled "A Disturbing Letter for the CEO" (I can't guess what the CEO is) and, though unsigned, begins with the salutation, "Dear Mr. Chairman and Mr. President." The passage goes as follows:

"Then there is Mr. Carl Oglesby, a luminary of the New so-called Left, who presents a historical pastiche designed to show the international company as a creature of American Imperialism. The beast is bloody in tooth and claw, and is hand-fed by the CIA and State Department. Yet in the midst of his staccato diatribe, Mr. Oglesby commits a revealing backslide: 'Perhaps there are transnationalizing forces at work which will result, in some vague long haul, in the final denationalizing of a globally responsible ruling class of corporation managers.' The blend of idealism and authoritarianism in that sentence tells a lot about the New so-called Left. If, Mr. President, your company is having problems in its campus recruiting, you should draw the article to the attention of your recruitment section; it offers some valuable insights into the ideas shaping the image of business among the young."

I should hope so.

## Elitist Self-Indoctrination

Just a few comments:

1. I was struck by the anonymous critic's inability to follow the argument at even the simplest level. His resume makes me seem to have argued that some imperial principal—the CIA, the State Department—employs the international company as an agent of its imperial designs, so that the economic is subordinated to the political. I argued nothing of the kind, of course. Why should it have been impossible for anonymous to have

written instead: "...American Imperialism as the creature of the international company," which at least would have put horse and cart together in the order my diatribe clearly proposed? I think we confront here an interesting example of the power of elitist self-indoctrination.

2. In the sentence which anonymous quotes from my essay, I fail to see the remotest hint either of idealism or authoritarianism, and am intrigued by the fact that anonymous does. I was merely conceding in passing the best consummation of what I take to be the modern imperialist's dream. And that dream, to be sure, is both idealistic and authoritarian, but only from the imperialist's point of view.

## New So-Called Left

3. Relatedly, note the peculiar form, "New so-called Left." The scoffing so-called usually goes up front, not in the middle. Is it our Leftness which the corporate liberals want to deny? Precisely. Since they cast themselves in the role of progressives, the current Johnny Appleseeds of industry, technology, and mass-consumer affluence, and since we New so-called Leftists continue to harass their campus recruiters, it follows that we are actually the opposite of what we claim to be. San Francisco's freaky liberal Mayor Alioto, panicked by his inability to control, co-opt, repress, or even understand the rebellion at SF State, is saying the same thing these days, but less coyly. He calls us fascists.

This item published in "New Left Notes" dated 12/18/68, Page 1



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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Last month the author, former president of Students for a Democratic Society, visited Cuba for the first time, as a guest of the government. Here, sympathetic but questioning, he looks past the 200,000 waiting to leave—only 1,000 a week can go—to report on Castro's regime.

# CUBA

by **CARL  
OGLESBY**

Cuba's decade of revolution has produced a society at once flamboyant and austere. Outrageous energy, a furious will for creation which has not yet got the full feel of its tools, furrows here, seeds there, a tumultuous scramble to produce a pattern.

What gives you the feeling of austerity is much more subtle, finally, than the rationing or the queues, at the almost empty shops, or even the pace at which the people must labor.

It comes across, rather, in the strangely detached curiosity with which even the militants appear to regard their revolution's future. Will they make it? How can they dare to think so? Yet how can they dare to fail?

They have gambled everything on the very long chance of making a very big revolution in a very small country. And having hurled themselves into this complex, nerve-jangling effort, they now seem to have achieved the serenity—a favorite word with Castro—which comes only to men and women who have permanently closed off all exits from history.

Which made coming to Havana strange for us. Primed to be witnesses to raw, full-face history, we came bang from daiquiris at the air-

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pg. 62D

Life Magazine

Date: 2-14-69

Edition:

Author: Carl Oglesby

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SF

☐ Being Investigated

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port to the glittering Havana Hilton Hotel. Getting out of the bus I found it hard to trade glances with my fellow S.D.S.ers, Bruce Goldberg and Russ Neufeld. "Behold the Revolution," Bruce said softly, and we all made an effort not to look too hard at the huge, lit-up hotel. A young philosophy instructor from Colorado with soft eyes and a drooping mustache, Bruce had never been out of the States before. Now he had left it twice: once to Cuba, and again to the Revolution.

The forbidden land, we thought, ought to look more forbidding than this. "They can call it the Havana Libre if they want to," Russ said, "but once a Hilton, always a Hilton." The Cubans had covered the entire La Rampa face of the Libre with a colored-light sign welcoming *los invitados*—us, among others—to the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution. It remained, however, a 25-story-tall sign in colored lights.

The three of us had met for the first time just after Christmas in Mexico City, where we also met a Western journalist who'd been some 20 years in the Caribbean. "Get outside of Havana," he said. "The Revolution is in the countryside." But by the second or third Scotch that pre-departure night, it was quite clear that he retained a Bogartian sort of fondness for La Parásita.

"The very depth of Old Havana's corruption gave it a kind of glamour. The best rum in the world and the best-run brothels in the hemisphere." He sipped and sighed, then shook his head. "But it only lived by draining the country of its blood like a parasite. The country revolted. And why not? In the days just before Fidel, construction everywhere, new banks, new stores, new apartment buildings—in Havana. But in the country, no doctors, no ~~SECRET~~ enough food, for eight months or the year

no work. No hope. Havana belonged to those who could buy it—*los norteamericanos* mostly, who came either to conquer another piece of the economy or to take a moral holiday in their madras shirts. That's all gone. Like it or not, the blood of the country is pumping in the other direction now. That's why Havana will look so pale."

We thought it should have looked paler. Liveried doormen still open car doors at the Libre. Certainly the cars are breaking down for want of spare parts, and the livery has grown shabby. But the marble ostentation of the lobby seems to have surrendered nothing, not a scratch or a chip, to 10 years of socialist revolution. Over at Havana's other grand hotel, the Nacional, where grandeur carries itself with a seedier, more continental slouch, one's impression is the same: pale as it may be, Havana remains a Western city.

Even after several days this reaction had not subsided. We understood the frustration of some other young Americans, 15 medical students, who on their first night in Cuba had been taken for supper to the 1830 Restaurant, posh before and still posh today. The *maitre d'* had nearly barred them for not wearing ties until someone was impudent enough to wonder if Fidel himself, tieless for a decade and a half, would also be denied admittance.

Our guide Sonia was amused at our reaction. "Why does it bother you so much?" At the tall age of 20 an advanced chemical engineering student, she's about to become probably the youngest member of Cuba's Communist party. And she didn't look any more Communist to me than the Libre-

nee-Hilton Hotel. With her modest mini, her taste for colorful sweaters and her simple hairdo, she could be a Big Ten sorority girl. "So you think it's too American-looking," she said. "So what? It looks plenty revolutionary to me if it belongs to the people, and this hotel belongs to the people."

I had met her some days into our stay and found her to be the brightest of the bright young Cubans we had found—and most understanding of Yankee-style hang-ups. So I let myself be tough with her. "Belongs to the people," I said. "That's a billboard slogan."

She flared. "We fought Batista's tyranny, not Havana's hotels. We march to the city and discover this thing standing here. So what should we do, destroy it? I think we should first be able to go beyond it, and that's not so easy." She paused. "I don't think 10 years is such a long time anyway. That's not enough time to think about everything, to do everything."

Is it? Sonia is a very persuasive young woman. When she gets through with 10 years, they look like 10 seconds. And what can you really do with a Hilton but call it a Libre? And what were we expecting to find in Cuba, anyway? The final redemption of man?

No revolution has succeeded in generating a deep transformation and extension of culture, of man's capacities to express his humanity more acutely. The ham-fisted attempt of the U.S.S.R. simply to decree a "revolutionary" culture into being stands as a leading disgrace of the 20th Century. This is partly why young American New Leftists have rejoiced in Cuba's refusal to denounce "bourgeois decadence" or to isolate itself from Western sources. It was important to know that the Cubans, too, were seeing the new-wave films. This helped keep us in touch, even across those endless 90 miles.

But our disappointment about the Hilton-Libre was no sooner subsiding than we found ourselves facing the New Year from a table in the famous old Tropicana. Very well. We all tried to make it with that scene: colored lights on clouds of steam, a brassy, ricky-ticky big-sound band a decade off the pace of Lawrence Welk and, most merciless of all, a piano player in a white tux at a white baby grand who went twirling up in the air on a white platform—yes, to the beat of *The Bumble Boogie*. With sequins.

"Dig Miguel," said Mike, a bushy-mustached New Yorker with a gift for the campy put-on. Round-faced Miguel, one of the guides, is a Cuban Charlie Brown. It seemed *The Bumble Boogie* had spaced him out. Eyes shut, he bounced in his chair to the rippling cadenzas of a 20-year-dead mistake. Mike leaned across the table. "Miguel, you're wonderful!" Miguel blinked. Mike's ironies had ambushed him before. I think Mike sensed just then that Miguel was defenseless. Wanting to put him back at ease, he said, "I've never had a more revolutionary New Year's Eve." Too late. Miguel slumped in his chair, forced a wry smile. "Yes, yes, I know you guys."

### For whose eyes does the Revolution dance?

Every Cuban a Che Guevara? Every gesture a blow for the Revolution? What demands we made!

But our tongue-biting could be facile too. The Revolution needs a way to express itself, and it isn't simply the harmless Tropicana that fails this need. The most admired pop music imitates the Beatles. The modern dance troupe reaches for Rudolf Bing and

falls short of M-G-M spectacle; performs an old Jerome Robbins trifle, *Opus Jazz*, at a Gene Kelly level of feeling. The best poets and novelists—the most flaming Marxists among them—still are tied to the general definitions of art, craft, value and purpose which were framed by the West. Even the celebrated Cuban graphic works—the huge, buoyant billboards, the electric posters—still derive from the pop-op fashions that are already fading in the West. The Cuban National Ballet is touted as the equal of many European companies. Perhaps. But why should the European standard govern? Is it for European eyes, tastes—above all, for European needs—that the Cuban Revolution dances?

It may well be that we Americans were impudent, and certainly we were naive. But we wanted to forgo the cigars and the daiquiris, to forgo the buttoned-down diplomatic reception and set out promptly to wherever one had to go to see what practical socialism really looked like—to catch a glimpse of the Cuban idea of man's future.

But how could we do this, when we had not yet grasped the oppressive weight of the Cuban past, of the real meanings of this term we had grown so casual with—underdevelopment?

So what is it, this *subdesarrollo* which is, in some way or other, the topic of every other conversation in the lobbies, the streets, the living rooms, the offices, the fields and shops of Cuba?

"You Americans have a most peculiar conception of underdevel-

opment," I was told one hot, thirsty day by a very black young man named Alfonso Herrera, of the foreign relations ministry. We were touring an experimental dairy farm halfway down Havana Province, clearly a showpiece with its prize

cattle, its computerized, automated feeding system and the mechanically elaborate merry-go-round where—so far as I could judge from the hard-to-follow but enthusiastic explanations—the cows were milked about a thousand times a day.

"Between the Atlantic countries and the rest of the world," Alfonso went on, "between the haves and have-nots, your government's theoreticians talk as if the only important difference is that we are developing later than you. A most fortunate theory. It allows you to forget your conquests and to patronize your victims. Yes, victims. Because we say: Why are we late? Why are we poor? Allow me to be terse. We are late because you made us your colonies. We are poor because you formed us economically in the image of your businessmen's needs. From that time onwards, we began to starve. What else do you think the Revolution is about?"

Very well. What? Virtually to a man, Americans are persuaded that these revolutions that blister up in this obscure little country here, that far-off continent there are merely international Communism's diabolical attempts to disrupt an otherwise, tolerable world peace. If only all these power-mad Red lags would stop it, everything would be green and calm.

The revolutionaries I met, at least, could not more fervently disagree. "Cuba cannot be seen through cold-war eyes," said Alfonso. "The Revolution is more elemental than that. Men make the Revolution to keep from starving to death."

Everywhere in the world there is fertile land uncultivated, or land which modern technology could make arable or more fertile; millions of men whose labor, properly organized, could tap the resources

which their survival requires. So why can't the organization of men's power to produce wealth be carried forward without violence?

The Western powers, of course, insist that it can be—and they have sometimes understood that it must. "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible," said President Kennedy in a 1962 speech, "will make violent revolution inevitable." Fair enough. In large part a response to the Cuban Revolution (which preceded it by two years), the Kennedy administration launched history's most impressive effort at economic reform, the Alliance for Progress. And after seven years and 7.6 billions of U.S. aid dollars, Latin American food production still drastically trails population growth. The famous gap between the haves and have-nots is wider than ever. Latin America is getting steadily lower prices for its material exports, having to pay steadily higher prices for manufactured imports, and is consuming a rising portion of its foreign credits merely to finance its debt. And there are more right-wing dictatorships in Latin America today than when the Alliance adventure started.

So the revolutionary may suppose his case has merit. Does this mean to him that violent revolution guarantees instant salvation? The Cubans I talked with have no such idea.

"Listen, Cuba is not an easy country to live in," said Domingo Amuchostegui, a 28-year-old veteran of Fidel's July 26 Movement and an expert on revolutionary theory and practice. "We have so far created only the possibility of freedom. When you know what we started with, you know this is a lot. But anyone who tells you the Revolution is a paradise is a fool."

We met no fools in Cuba. In Havana especially, a city historically accustomed to a high style of liv-

ing, the austerity is conspicuous to anyone. In the countryside, where the development is concentrated, *los habaneros'* loss becomes *los campesinos'* gain. Progress granted, it still remains that Cuba's material pleasures are currently few: one bottle of rum per person per month—because the rum is needed for export; two bottles of beer per person per week—because hops have to be purchased abroad and consume credits. Cigars went on ration in the fall of 1968, and this January so did sugar (six pounds per month per person), again because these products represent guaranteed foreign sales and thus more credits for investment in the purchase, say, of farm equipment.

In 1968 Cuba invested fully 31% of its gross national product in its

agricultural, industrial and social development. That much spent for seeds, machines and schools means that much which cannot be spent on consumer goods. "Can an underdeveloped country afford to do anything else?" Castro said in a speech last March 13. "Isn't it plain that this country must invest its last cent, that it cannot invest in anything superfluous?"

"Fighting Batista was difficult enough," said Domingo. "But removing the political cause of poverty is not the same thing as finding an economic cure for poverty. We had to learn everything. Who knew how to build dams? All the engineers had gone. Who knew the amount of water in our rivers? No one had ever bothered to measure it. We need more food? Good. In that case we need experts, we need technology, we need a better organization of the work force. Since we had none of these, we had to buy them—and to buy them, we had to have something to sell to the world. What did our economy have to sell? Food. To get more food we are obliged to sell the food we have."

But how much of this can the people take?

Domingo smiled ironically. "Yes, we know how much everyone worries now about the poor, pitiable Cubans who have to work so hard and suffer so much. All this compassion in a certain northern capital, certain newspapers. Very well. Cubans are not supermen. But we are also not precisely a nation of sleepy, defeated peasants. A hundred years of rebellion, 10 years of revolution: nobody lives through this without being changed. Some people fall, we pick them up; others run—*adiós*. But many more only become stronger—arms, backs, heads: everything stronger. Cubans are just ordinary people. We merely do what we understand has to be done."

### **A drumbeat emphasis on moral heroism**

The main pivot of this revolution is *consciencia*—a word which in Cuba combines the meanings of conscience and consciousness. "Create wealth through *consciencia*," runs the current slogan, "not *consciencia* through wealth." And this drumbeat emphasis on the moral rather than the material incentive can easily strike an outsider as the most outlandish Cuban idea of all. "Not supermen," said Domingo. Fine. But you wonder if there isn't after all something precariously romantic in this demand for universal moral heroism—until finally, once understood in the context of the necessary and the possible, it begins to make practical sense. The moral incentive is the only incentive Cuba can presently afford, the collective satisfaction of being at last in motion toward the supreme goal, the conquest of underdevelopment.

"This revolution has momentum now," Domingo said. "Don't think these demands for sacrifice take us by surprise. When you see us rationing food in Havana, please have the sense to remember that 10 years ago the countryside was starving. We don't drink rum; our children have milk. We don't smoke cigars; there is no more polio here. None. No more swamp fever. Ninety percent of the babies born last year in this much-pitied country were born in hospitals. Ninety percent! Whoever wants to pity us for having no more nightclubs anywhere should also pity us for suddenly having schools and nurseries everywhere."

He hunched his massive shoulders, raised his hands. "Do you think the people could possibly be ignorant of these things? Who built all these clinics? You think it's being done in the night by Russians? Who do you think learned how to read and write? Who is it if not the Cuban people who are making these dams and roads? Listen, you really want to know what this revolution is? This revolution is work! This revolution is 62,000 tons of fish, 90,000 coffee trees around Havana and 10 million tons of sugar in 1970!"

The New Socialist Man: someone who sweats a lot?

But that's Domingo's story, and Domingo is what you would have to call a hard-core type. What about the amateurs?

Jaime Sonpoda sings what he calls "bull baritone" in the Cuban National Chorus, from which he was temporarily drafted to serve as the S.D.S.'s guide. He is in his mid-20s and even in sport shirt and blue jeans looks like a *hon vivant* fashion plate; dressed for the theater, he was blinding. Black wavy hair, prominent jaw, twinkling brown eyes.

room of pretty Cuban girls and watch him move. For a long time, well past the first week, I'd tried to get him into political conversations, erroneously assuming that an official guide would at least be a good source for official views. I decided to ask him about Régis Debray, the young French philosopher-revolutionary.

"What does Cuba think of Debray now, Jaime?" I asked. He turned his eyes from a shapely ankle: "Yes? Who? Ah, Debray. Yes, he's a good one. But not as good as the Coppelia's ice cream."

I'd about decided his interest in the whole revolutionary caboodle approached zero degrees. In the first few days he seemed to be a very pure specimen of the Accommodating Man. "Revolutions come, revolutions go," I'd remarked to Bruce; "the Jaimes always survive." Bruce asked him what he thought about the Chinese. He flashed a grin: "Even sillier than us Cubans. What else? Come on, look at these pretty baby cows!"

I was about to discover that it was I who was not talking politics—and more: that in the long run it's in the Jaimes—the ordinary people whom history has required to be extraordinary—that Cuba's revolution will find its most enduring makers and defenders.

We were on the Isle of Pines, some 40 miles off the Cuban mainland, the rain was coming straight down and chilly, and Jaime was herding us into a contraptious East German bus for a visit to still another dairy farm. Not that we'd been shown so many, but it's hard to keep being impressed with so many tons of this and liters of that. Nevertheless, we climbed into the bus, bounced along for an

hour, then stopped at a complex of neat, new-looking white buildings. Yes, it was a dairy, all right; you could tell from all those cows.

I got no inkling of Jaime's exasperation until he drew me aside that night back at the hotel.

"I try to understand," he said, "what this must mean to a *norte-americano*. You have hundreds of these farms in every state, thousands. And you can feed milk even to your kittens. Do you know how many children had milk before? Yes, you have an idea. The idea is not the same as the *hunger*. So you have to think about the zebu. You have to understand this stupid zebu fully or the Revolution will be invisible to you!"

I had heard about the zebu. With a rage usually reserved for Yankee imperialists, Castro denounced the beast last March 13: "Thousands, tens of thousands of men have been struggling during these years with these foul-tempered, angry animals."

The main virtues of these counterrevolutionary cattle—Brahmans brought to Cuba by the Spaniards—are that the heat can't kill them and that two cowboys can tend thousands. But the zebu cow produced a meager two liters of milk daily—not nearly enough for the people's needs. Thousands of country kids had never even heard of milk.

The rebels had no Yellow Pages they could finger-walk through to find a solution to the problem of the counterrevolutionary cow. But within a few years, advised by a leading British agronomist, they determined to "put the zebu into the museum" by crossbreeding it with champion Holstein stock. The result is a New Socialist Cow with the hardihood of the zebu and the productivity of the Holstein. By now there are several thousands of "los hijos de Fidel" (Fidel's chil-

dren), and the computerized breeding program projects a half million by mid-1970. That means decreased outlays of precious foreign exchange for powdered-milk imports, more capital to invest in the mechanization of agriculture—and the beginnings, maybe, of a little rest for the people.

"This," said Jaime, "is what our revolution is all about. When you insist on talking about China, about Russia, about all the crazy mix-ups of your endless cold war—

you're just missing the point. There were no cold-war experts in the Sierra Maestra. There were men who hated tyranny, humiliation and hunger, men who wanted dignity and independence for Cuba. Why did a fight against these things make you our enemy, too? Yes, I remember: we execute!" He made a sharp cutting motion with his hand, no twinkle in his eyes. "We execute Batista's dogs and your newspapers weep. Where were all these weeping reporters when the dogs killed 20,000?"

### **'Before our socialism—your Bay of Pigs'**

"Yes, I remember again: we take your companies' plantations. Now we're bandits. But who was made hungry by this, and how many did this begin to feed? Yes, I remember it all: we are socialists, a capital crime, and we send our agents to make revolution all over Latin America, everywhere. There must be a hundred million Cubans! But before our socialism came your Bay of Pigs, *compañero*, and for every Cuban guerrilla in Latin America there are a hundred of your Pentagon gorillas, for every Cuban bullet there, a thousand of your bombs. And you don't for-

get anything: we are little Russian puppets, no? Because we sell sugar to the Russians and buy their machines? It was Russian guns that saved this country when American guns attacked it. And if you want us to buy your machines instead of Russian ones, then be good enough to make this possible—stop the embargo."

Next day the rain was gone. The air was exciting and the Isle of Pines had become sweet: flat across most of its area, but you're never out of sight of the *mogotes*, small, steep mountains that heave up sharply out of the plains, lumber along for a while, then subside. Sheltered in a cup of two such hills is the house where, in 1870, José Martí, Cuba's revolutionary saint, spent a year of exile for challenging Spanish rule in an underground newspaper. He was 17 years old.

"Jaime," I yelled across the little courtyard before the gray, sprawling stucco shrine, "did Martí hate the zebus too?"

"And also the Chinese."

Palace of the Revolution, another Batista heirloom: add it to the Hilton-Libre and the Tropicana and you have an architectural trilogy glorifying estrangement, boredom and the state. January 1: A reception at the palace produces its by-now-familiar effect on us New

Left Natty Bamppos, so I hang off to the side with an unexported inch or two of the people's rum, feeling sticky and unplugged—until at last the scene begins to arrange itself.

We were in a long, high marble hall divided lengthwise by an openwork stone partition. My mind had been wandering across several gowns and a few jeweled male fingers; and because I was thus distracted, it seemed from nowhere that the Chinese Presence had materialized on the other side of

the room.

He looked like an older James Coburn made up for a high-camp political seduction. Lean and supple with short, tough gray hair, a soft, superior amusement on his face, he held his cigarette upright between his thumb and index finger, and was wearing a black Mao suit—did it even have a silken luster? And with his face always pointed elsewhere than his eyes, he glided slowly through the room on glistening black shoes. Save for the brown-Mao-suited young man with the flat, shocked-looking face who followed him at precisely two paces off his right heel, he was supremely and elegantly alone.

And camped by an hors d'oeuvre table, gesturing and munching, stood the beefy, pink-faced Russians in floppy business suits of no special color at all, laughing at in-jokes made, so the gossip had it, at the expense of the famous and lovable Cuban inefficiency.

Then, at the far end, Fidel.

I had got a first short glimpse of him through a doorway as we were filing into the main hall. He was standing in a line with a dozen others to greet the guests of rank; lit by the strong lights of the movie cameras, the scene was theatrically sharp, a tableau or even a painted temple frieze, with Fidel towering and casual at the center.

I gave up hero worship at the age of 9, when I saw Joe DiMaggio take the field in a uniform with one dirty knee. But I suppose even his enemies will acknowledge that Castro might easily be the most turned-on human being in the world.

Later in the main hall, while the Chinese Presence wafted in and out and the Russians behind me ate eggs, laughed and yawned, I stood half an hour in the circle five feet away from Fidel, unable to hear his voice above the



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hubbub. But it was still an awesome pantomime and the vibrations were strong and pure. His face, to begin with, is a perfectly fused contradiction of the classical by the romantic, of serenity by bravura. The planes of his brow and nose, the beard, the black curly hair: who else but Pericles? But we never saw Pericles gesticulating, the fingers of each hand pinched together over each shoulder, his head shaking for 10 consecutive seconds, with words coming out like bullets, then a pause, a probing look, a vigorous handshake, and the eyes swiftly panning around the room; then folding his arms, and cocking his head attentively toward the next person.

A white-haired lady appears and for 20 minutes Castro listens. Lips purse, eyes squint. Then from the breast pocket of his olive-green uniform he produces a notebook and pen, scribbles a hasty note. This scene is played all over Cuba. Where Fidel appears, the government of Cuba is at work.

That is, the Cuban dictatorship? At least try to sort out the meanings of this term. Most simply, it projects an image of a people cowed by force, not only voiceless in their state's affairs but driven to do bitter labor against their own understanding of their needs. Beyond that, you quickly get snarled in iffy speculations about the nature of a popular will and the possibility of its being embodied in a single personality. Can Cuba be understood and defined by this elusive term, dictatorship?

Cuba is run by revolutionary socialists whose objective is to make a social revolution, and anyone who opposes that effort will not live a happy life in Cuba. The slogan is, "Within the Revolution, everything." This includes a serious, open debate about where the boundary of the ~~SECRET~~ on ac-

tually lies. However, its implicit corollary is, "Outside the Revolution, nothing."

Sonia told me she'd first opposed a certain policy of Fidel's but then changed her mind. "What if you hadn't?" I asked. "What could you do?"

"Keep discussing and studying it," she said.

"For how long? And what if you kept thinking you were right?"

### **El Caballo is always just about to arrive**

The question made her clearly uncomfortable, so I pushed harder. Finally, exasperated, she jabbed my chest with her finger and said, "Look, we're not things with buttons that go on and off. But I believe we have to have the party to do what we have to do. So you have to defend the party, even when you're not sure."

I don't think I could say that. To me, a most Midwestern American, it sounded like an advance acquittal for all crimes. But how would I feel if I lived instead in a

tiny, underdeveloped island country, just 10 years free, which had to deal every day with a virtual siege thrown upon it by history's most powerful state? Emergency is all by itself a heavy argument for total mobilization, and hence for Cuba's preemptive centralism.

But bureaucracies are famous for outlasting their mandates: Lenin's honor leads to Stalin's shame. How can the Cubans build space into their system, create a structural ability to abandon the exhausted institution and freely create the new?

There are no guarantees at all, and the only hope is the permanent activity of the people: their deep involvement in the concrete

acts of government. This means, before anything else, that they must have authentic communion with their leader—have access to him somehow, even when all the red lights are flashing—have his confidence and feel that they are always present before him. Above all, this requires real education.

Castro seems to recognize no more important general mission than this. *El Caballo*, Cubans call him, the Horse: not only for his strength but also because, a nation of chess players, Cubans give him the name of the Knight, the most active piece. His motion through the island is constant, and that he is always unannounced means that he is always about to arrive. Without his simple poise and his bulging vitality, his evident need to be everywhere, to talk to everyone, to explain everything would be nothing more than a desperate evangelism.

Castro knows that Fidel is mortal. So he must also know that Cuba's towering political problem is this: How can *fidelismo*—that affectionate faith which certainly flows today between him and the huge Cuban majority—escape the limits of personality and become the organic base of Cuban society? Almost everything he does can be understood as an attack on this probably horrifying problem.

His speeches, for example. Are we so shallow as to think it's vanity, if not lunacy, that drives him to make three long speeches within a week? "Harangues," we call them, these famous marathons which are reckoned brief when they end in two hours. We are

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more familiar with politicians who explain the world in a 30-second TV ad. Castro's March 13 speech runs to 80 pages in the printed transcript (all his speeches are unwritten). There is no better explanation anywhere of the politics of development in the Third World. Cubans need this explanation. Characteristically, not more than 10 minutes into the Tenth Anniversary speech, he was carefully telling the 800,000 people in the Plaza de la Revolución that net content of fertilizer is not the same as gross weight.

Isn't it dull? Surely the Cubans listen only because they think they must? Certainly some do, maybe many. So what? If the people are ever truly to govern themselves, they must grasp not just the end but also the beginning and the middle of the line of reasoning that concludes with policy and action. Maybe it's our own habituation to the politics of image that hides from us the importance of these techno-sermons on the theme of Cuba's survival.

Any violently transitional society is bound to be precarious. The suspense mounts only when major turning points are approached. The pressures of the U.S. embargo and boycott and its open-secret support of militant exile groups have been painful for the Revolution but far from lethal. Owning an impressive credit rating now with Britain, France, Spain, Italy and Japan, Cubans feel they are moving away from that economic dependency on the U.S.S.R. which, even if it had not been the aim, would have been the most likely result of U.S. policy. The Revolution has clearly survived the serious economic mistakes of the first five years, when an absurd industrialization plan set Cubans to building a spark-plug factory in a remote, rural town in Las Villas Province, leaving the

proceeds of forthcoming automobile and TV industries, and actually plowing under whole fields of sugar cane.

Came a cruel dawn and then the chastened "realism" of the past five years—sugar provisionally restored to the throne, industrialization from now on to take place within the farm economy, not beyond it. Most rational, these second thoughts. Cuba seems to come together.

But I thought I caught a soft current of sadness there, a whiff of some disappointment which no one would mention because mentioning it would sooner or later make you think about it, and if it got thought about too deeply or too soon, it might boil up into a bitterness more lethal than a hundred American blockades or a thousand Bays of Pigs.

Recall the heroic days when we Americans were still allowed to think that Fidel Castro was a combination Thomas Jefferson and Robin Hood. Joyously indifferent to all the old limits, huge black cigars clamped tightly in their bright grinning teeth, the bearded young rebels were liberators not merely of Cuba but of the spirit of Don Quixote, too. What was impossible then?

### **Julio and a Cuban 'trip to the moon'**

And when omnipotence confessed its weakness, and sugar was back in style again, the rebel imagination turned more sharply to the Latin American continent. "The Russian Revolution can survive," the old Bolsheviks had warned, "only if there is prompt revolution in the nations of Europe." Forty years later, these island-Bolsheviks would say what amounted to the same

thing: "Two, three, many Vietnams!" Meetings are held. Contacts are made—a guerrilla band here, a column there. Stern advice is given: "The duty of the revolutionary is to make the revolution," said Che. And Régis Debray, Boswell to the new revolution, prepares a manual to explain the current advances in the art. Were there no more Batistas in Latin America? No more Bolívars?

But one day Che is killed in Bolivia. The column is destroyed. "Accidents," says Domingo, "a few casual events. Bad preparation. The wrong choice of terrain. The strategy has not yet really been tried." A distant voice cries out in the pages of a new manifesto, "Back to the Bolivian hills! Che lives!" The poignancy of these words is not greater than their bravery. "We are not gloomy," says strong Domingo. "It will just take longer."

Fidel's Tenth Anniversary speech said nothing about longer or shorter: no mention of the continent's revolution; one obligatory salute to Vietnam—as deeply felt as ever, this salute, but brief. "The Year of the Heroic Guerrilla" has passed. "The Year of the Decisive Effort" takes its place. The huge, bright billboards still carry the slogan, "Two, three, many Vietnams." But the new champion slogan is *los diez millones van*—the 10 million tons of sugar are coming. This is the promise on which the Revolution has staked its honor.

Something seems to dissolve and fade. An idea which not long ago had all by itself simultaneously rendered both the moral and the historical life coherent, and in fact identical, seems now to lose its explanatory and motivating power. Two coupled moments of towering audacity: We will be an industrial state tomorrow! The revolution is rising everywhere! The first became: The day after tomorrow,



we will have mechanized many of our farms. The second became: Revolution will have at least one American island for a sanctuary.

"Did you talk with Fidel?" my friends asked when I got back. I wouldn't have known what to say to him. Except—maybe I could have mumbled it—that I would leave Cuba with a different and I think better idea of manhood, of *machismo*, than what I'd come with. Standing in the circle around Fidel that night at the palace reception, not at all perversely, I looked for Che's epitaph in his face. Can you possibly wrap your mind around even one small corner of his sorrow? I could see only that the epitaph wasn't there. And I'll assume that this is because he has chosen not to write it, that it's because he's finding some other way to keep Quixote upright in skinny Rosinante's saddle. Or else on that stronger horse, *El Caballo* himself.

A soft-spoken engineering student named Julio stepped back from the Isle of Pines map. He had just finished his summary of Cuba's plans to turn that island into the birthplace of the New Man. They have renamed it the Isle of Youth. For three years now, swelling the population from 9,000 to 44,000, young volunteers have been coming here from all parts of Cuba to clear land, build dams, lay roads and irrigation canals, construct schools, housing, hospitals and nurseries—the things they need to turn what was first a pirates' sanctuary and then a prison island into an image of what they hope all Cuba will become. Food, clothing, housing, schooling and medical care are already free here. By 1975, they say their island will produce as much citrus fruit as Israel. Perhaps by that time too there will be no ~~SECRET~~ no prices: they want to

put the money system into the museum with the zebra.

Julio was five years old when Castro, only 25 then, led the attack on Moncada barracks. He was only 10 when Batista fell. How can he and his generation make this revolution their own? What audacity is left for them?

"One more thing," he said. He went back to the map and traced a line from the western edge of the Isle of Youth up to the Cuban coast, some 40 miles away. "The sea is shallow here," he said. "Suppose we built a dam." Then he traced a parallel line from the eastern edge. "Another here. Suppose we push the sea back and fill this passage. More land for crops and cattle, more room for people." He turned to us and smiled. "A wild idea?" Then his smile turned into a confident grin. "We have no rockets," he said. "But maybe we can change the shape of the earth. This will be our trip to the moon."

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V. INTERVIEWS OF SUBJECT

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 11/24/68

During an interview with MICHAEL R. DAVIS,  
Staff Organizer, League for a Democratic Society  
at the SDS Headquarters, 702 West 27th Street, Los  
Angeles, in connection with a possible violation of the  
Selective Service Act of 1948, an individual who identified  
himself as CARL COLESBY, National President of SDS, indicated  
a desire to converse with the interviewing Agents.

COLESBY stated he had just heard a news release  
that the SDS in a national membership referendum had voted  
to take a neutral stand on the draft question. He stated that  
the votes were being counted when he left Chicago and that he  
was surprised at the result because he felt sure the membership  
would support the past SDS campaign against the draft and  
the war in Vietnam.

COLESBY stated he had been in Los Angeles for  
the past few days and would be returning to the East that  
day. He commented that he did not know what the policy  
of the SDS would be now or what projects they would concentrate  
on. He did state that he felt that the SDS had been given  
a bad image in the eyes of the public in that a lot of  
people thought of the SDS as a bunch of draft card burners  
and draft dodgers. COLESBY asserted that the SDS had  
never urged draft evasion or draft card burning, although  
it was possible individual members had burned their cards.  
He advised that SDS had sympathy with those who felt it  
necessary to burn their cards to express their viewpoints.

COLESBY stated that the SDS has been interested  
in presenting a true picture of the war in Vietnam and in  
getting an alternative to force. He further stated that the  
SDS has concentrated on getting things concerning on the draft  
for those who oppose the draft and the war in Vietnam.  
He alleged that the SDS has been interested only in providing  
alternatives to the draft and not draft evasion. He continued  
that the SDS would like to see the Government allow young men

702 West 27th Street, Los Angeles 100-30813  
On 11/24/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Des Moines 100-10024

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to serve their country in other capacities such as the Peace Corps, VISTA, and community projects.

COLLINSBY alleged that he had spent several weeks in Vietnam earlier this year and had talked to members of the State Department and Central Intelligence Agency there. COLLINSBY was of the opinion that the majority of the people in Vietnam support the Viet Cong and what the Viet Cong is not the terrorist organization it is portrayed to be, but on the contrary is trying to gain the support of the people by giving them land, food and generally raising their standard of living. He claimed that the United States and the South Vietnamese are preventing the people from holding elections and choosing their own government. He further claimed that the United States and South Vietnamese troops are making enemies of the people by destroying their villages and killing the inhabitants.

COLLINSBY commented that although he does not favor communism in the United States, that he does not feel it is necessarily wrong for Vietnam if it would be best for the people. He was of the opinion that the Vietnamese had the right to choose communism if they so desired and that it probably would be better for them than the current or more recent regimes in South Vietnam.

He stated he felt that it would be to the benefit of both the United States and Vietnam if the United States would withdraw its troops from Vietnam. He agreed that it was probable that the communists would take over all of Vietnam, but he believed that the United States by expert diplomacy could persuade the Vietnam government to be neutralist communist as is Yugoslavia. In this way, the war would be ended, the Vietnamese people would have peace and the United States would not have suffered any political setback.

COLLINSBY indicated that he felt the word "communist" had become synonymous with evil in the minds of Americans and that this image was not necessarily true. He referred to the apparent change of politics on the part of the Soviet Union in that they are not engaged in the cold war to the extent they were in recent years. He alleged that communist control

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of a country did not necessarily indicate political ties with the Soviet Union and gave as example Yugoslavia and Red China. He also claimed that North Vietnam did not like Red China and was not tied to them politically. He re-emphasized that he did not believe communist control over Vietnam would necessarily be bad and that the United States must learn to negotiate with communism. He reiterated that it was not the question of capitalism versus communism but whether a political system by any name would be good for the people of a given country.

COLEBY commented that his father did not agree with his views and was very upset with him because of his attitude towards communism.

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III. INTERVIEW OF OGLESBY

On April 19, 1967, Subject was interviewed by Special Agents of the FBI in an attempt to determine the whereabouts of a Federal fugitive who allegedly was last known to be seen by Subject. OGLESBY stated that he did not know the whereabouts of the fugitive and would not disclose this information even if he did know. He stated that he does not wish to make life more miserable for the fugitive, who has his (OGLESBY's) "crying sympathy."

OGLESBY stated that he feels the Vietnam war is an abomination and that the draft is unfair. He stated that he has previously made a number of speeches in an attempt to build up a political momentum to change it all.

On November 3, 1967, OGLESBY was again contacted concerning this Federal fugitive and he stated, "Just put me down in your report as an uncooperative person." He stated that unless the Agents had a subpoena he would not talk about the fugitive.

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VI. PRESS COMMENT OR  
INTERVIEW OF SUBJECT

The "New Left Notes" is published by the SDS at Chicago, Illinois. In an issue dated May 6, 1966, appears a lengthy article captioned "Comments on Oglesby" wherein the writer of the article criticizes a report of Subject's from Italy which refers to political conditions in Italy. In this lengthy article appears the statement "The fact is that OGLESBY is so anxious to see the left turn that he misunderstands the present basis of the Italian Communist Party's organization.

An article appeared in the "Detroit Free Press" dated November 24, 1965, captioned "Objectors Organize to Battle the Draft." The article quotes Subject relative to the SDS "Anti-Draft Movement" as follows:

"We don't question the right of the State to obligate its citizens. We do say that the state has no right to violate an individual's conscience. Some people think the war in Vietnam is a good war. They should fight there. Others think they can serve their country better by working in Nigeria, and they should serve there. It is just as risky."

The article states SDS refers to above as "Elective Service" and that people should be given a choice as to how they would like to serve their country.

A feature article appeared in the "Michigan Daily," U of M publication, Ann Arbor, Michigan, March 20, 1966, captioned, "Carl Oglesby." The article develops Subject's background and his philosophy. Subject in the article is quoted as saying "Late in the 1950's, something happened, the civil rights movement began. I'm sure that there would be no 'New Left' had it not been for the Freedom Movement. People began discovering you did not have to work with the power structure to change things. Maybe you could do things yourself. The civil rights movement found out that it was possible for a few ordinary people to have a big effect on society."

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In discussing his disillusionment with his employment at Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan, where, according to the article, he worked as a technical writer on a Defense Department disarmament contract, he is quoted as saying:

"I started out thinking people studied disarmament because I thought people wanted to disarm. But I found that when the Government talks about disarmament they really talk about ways of increasing strategic advantage over the Soviet Union."

The article states that Subject increasingly wrote in opposition to United States foreign policy and in December, 1964, a U of M literary magazine, "Generation" reprinted one of his letters along with one of Subject's plays, "The Peacemakers." The article states that SDS members in Ann Arbor were impressed by his writing and invited him to join the organization. The article continues that he was impressed and "started to work on the planned faculty strike that eventually resulted in the first teach-in. He found the teach-in was a 'night of transfiguration.'" He is quoted as further saying "I became convinced that the really beautiful people are now students so I decided to cast my lot with SDS."

This article notes that central to the Subject's political thesis is that the United States has to "Stop saying that everyone who comes along promising land, physical and social reform is a communist...The hunger in Latin America begins in the Chase-Manhattan Bank, it is ordinary, old fashioned economic exploitation...as long as America remains as it is the revolutionaries will be forced into a Communist alignment for we give them no alternatives."

"MAO says the United States will never change. Everything he says is finally proved for the people in revolutionary situations who have an encounter with the United States. We turn hunger into Communism, illiteracy into Communism, nationalism into Communist and social revolution into Communism."

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The fact is that these revolutions are really not Communist aggression but genuine social revolution and we cannot hold that social revolution down "

The article continues that "Oglesby's speeches spark controversy wherever he goes. After his first SDS address from the back of a sound truck in New York's Washington Square, last spring, OGLESBY had his head bashed in by a group of muscular young dissidents who did not agree with what OGLESBY was saying or his right to say it, but then there was also the time at Williams College when a battle hardened 60 year old socialist came up after OGLESBY's speech and said, 'Mr. Oglesby, I just want to tell you that you are better than Debs.'"

This lengthy article concluded by quoting OGLESBY as saying, "I happen to love America and I want there to be at least a footnote in the history of the 60's that said there were some people who tried to stop it. I just cannot face the thought of people in Swaziland someday reading the history of the United States in the 60's the way we read the history of Germany, 1930 - 1945."

An article appeared in the "Michigan Journalist," a publication of the Department of Journalism, U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, dated November 11, 1965, wherein information concerning the SDS and various SDS leaders is set forth. In defense of the organization, the article reads in part as follows, attributing the comments to the Subject:

"Communist infiltration is not a major threat to SDS, Oglesby said, in replying to Justice Department investigations. 'If anybody infiltrates, they will infiltrate open space,' he commented. 'SDS just isn't vulnerable to infiltration or a takeover.'

"Oglesby explained that his organization resists a strong central structure and tight internal discipline that would allow a handful of people to take over at the top and hand down orders.

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"'Membership is open to students, faculty and others who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as means and as a social goal,' the SDS constitution says.

"'It is civil libertarian in its treatment of persons with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any totalitarian principle as a basis for government or social organization. Advocates or apologists for such a principle are not eligible for membership.'

"Oglesby was critical of the Justice Department and the FBI. 'Apparently, those people don't understand how to deal with an open, democratic organization. If they want information, they get all we have to give by asking questions,' he said.

"He was optimistic about SDS's future, despite government efforts against it. 'I don't think rigidity will set in. When in rough weather, there is a tendency to batten down the hatches. There is no sense of panic, but more a sense of exhilaration,' Oglesby said."

An article appeared in the "Michigan Daily" publication under date February 15, 1966, captioned, "Reclassification of Protestors Helps Their Cause." The article concerns Selective Service reclassification of some U of M students which grew out of a "sit-in" of the Ann Arbor, Michigan, Selective Service Office, in a demonstration protesting United States intervention in Vietnam. The article quotes various SDS leaders and refers to the comments of Subject, in part, as follows:

"Carl Oglesby, president of SDS, believes a major reason behind the success of the protest is that the demonstration occurred under 'optimum conditions for change.'

"He said that the peace movement couldn't be more respectable and have better arguments and that the administration couldn't be less respectable and have worse arguments.

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"I think more people trust Benjamin Spock (a leader of SANE) than Lyndon Johnson. At least Spock helped them raise their babies,' Oglesby said.

"What has happened now,' says Oglesby, 'is that people have said to themselves,'if those rascals are going to start the McCarthy stuff again, well this time we are not going to ignore it and be innocent bystanders.'" As a "result people look for ways to testify their outrage and are subsequently open to new evidence on the war itself."

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Contained herein is a series of questions and answers as given on the television program "Impact," WCPO TV, Sunday night, March 19, 1967, at 6:30 p.m. The moderator of the program is ALLEN WHITE, Channel 9 TV News Editor: the panel consists of CARL RUBEN, WILLIAM FLAX, and CHARLES COLLINS; and the guest is CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR. The questions are being asked by the moderator and panelists, and the answers given by Mr. OGLESBY.

The program begins with the moderator stating the following:

"At a time when there is so much conflict among minds over the right or the wrong of the United States involvement in Vietnam, there now comes another force to further promote internal turmoil. This is an offshoot of the anti-Viet Nam policy society and now directed to rallying its own young men of draft age to refuse induction into the armed forces and, as I understand it, on the prime basis that the draft is undemocratic. The young men so far involved identify themselves mainly as members of a nationwide campus organization known as Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). There is a chapter near the University of Cincinnati campus and some members of the UC branch were among the student demonstrators at the Federal Building in downtown Cincinnati when some of its members refused to be inducted into the services. I was so intrigued by this kind of business that I invited the SDS to send a representative to our 'Impact' program to find out how these people think. That spokesman is here tonight. He is Mr. CARL OGLESBY, a past president of SDS nationally and now a part-time teacher at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio."

Question: Mr. OGLESBY, I am given to ask you right at the outset, are you a communist?

Answer: No, I rather fancy myself as some kind of conservative.

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Question: A conservative. What do you teach at Antioch, Mr. OGLESBY?

Answer: Two classes, both more or less in modern philosophy.

Question: You have long been associated with SDS?

Answer: I worked for about 8 years in the defense business, up until the summer of 1965, when owing to a great many reasons, owing to a great many causes, I found that I couldn't sleep very easily at night unless I put myself more conspicuously in the protest movement against the war, and then I left the defense business, where I held some kind of executive job, and came with Students for a Democratic Society. Then for about a year and a half I was president of the organization and now after that tenure is up, I am at Antioch now under a special visiting lecturers program.

Question: You endorse the feelings of the young men of draft age who refuse to go into the draft. Is that not right?

Answer: Oh, sure, that's very right.

Question: Why?

Answer: Well, you know that involves us immediately in a discussion of what the war in Viet Nam is and it involves us immediately in a discussion of democracy and what the country is.

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Question: If we were not at war at this time or involved in any kind of conflict with other nations, Mr. CULBERTSON, would you still then say that a young man has a right to balk at being inducted into the armed forces?

Answer: Oh, that's very much the case. The idea that American people were trying to make good here, and they have been trying to make that idea good for a long time, is that whenever you have a state, a super state, developed to such an extent and with such power that it can so wholly manipulate the lives of people, as we find in manipulating such lives in the case of conscripting, forcing people to kill, that then you don't have a very good situation. The state just doesn't have the kind of rights, the kind of authority to do to people what the state does in this case.

Question: I would like to pursue for just a moment what you have just suggested, because it is my understanding that the chief distinction between our society and those that have gone before is that we have within ourselves an orderly process for changing this state if we are dissatisfied with it, but that change does not include the right to protest in the streets or to determine which laws we will obey and which ones we will not obey. It does include the right to change the representative members who make these laws. Now why has your group elected not to pursue this method of change?

Answer: Number 1, that method of change seems to have fairly badly broken down with the advent of a certain Texan. The last time that I know of that the American people were consulted about this war in Viet Nam, they were presented with a fairly clear choice. One of those guys was standing up there saying that we shouldn't send American troops

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half way around the world to do what Vietnamese troops ought to do for themselves, and a fairly famous slogan of that 1964 Presidential campaign was "We seek no wider war." That was one option presented to the American people, democratically. They were supposed to represent their opinions about that. The other choice, represented, I think, quite honestly by BARRY GOLDWATER, whom I consider an honest man, was that the war should be widened. The issue was clear. It was the issue that was the burning one in the 1964 campaign; and in bigger numbers than the American people have ever said anything in a Presidential vote, they voted for that quiet, that drive towards peace, that yearning for reconciliation, that JOHNSON claimed to be speaking for.

Question: Mr. OGLESBY, regardless of whether people agree or don't agree with the present war effort in Viet Nam, certainly it has always been the duty of the young men in the society to bear the brunt of the fighting. This is true in any society, not just the American society, at any time in history, and the draft laws that we have...

Answer: That's not true!

Question: Oh, I think it is true. Certainly we don't...

Answer: Have you ever heard of the draft riots around the time of the Civil War?

Question: I'm not disputing the fact that there have been people who have tried to avoid this duty at various times. I am saying that the burden of defending and fighting for and carrying the flag forward in any society, at any time in history,

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has always fallen upon the young manhood. It doesn't fall upon the women, it doesn't fall upon the old men, it doesn't fall upon the children; just by natural circumstances, it falls upon the young manhood of that society, because they're the only ones really who are fit to carry forth the war effort, and because of this unique circumstance, it has always been sort of a moral responsibility on the young manhood to bear the fighting. Now your draft protests, as I understand them, actually go beyond and are not merely aimed at people who might be going immediately to Viet Nam, they're aimed against the whole idea of the military service, defending and carrying forward the interests of the United States of America.

Answer: I think the American people are bright enough to know when their interests need defended.

Question: Well, I don't think this is an individual decision when the society is in a war.

Answer: Well, then who makes the decision?

Question: Why, it is a national decision, and it seems to me that those that do not wish to carry on the fight would have a natural remedy and that is to leave the American society. But if you are going to participate in a society, it seems to me that the young manhood at least has to carry the brunt of the fighting when it is in a war and this has always been so.

Answer: If people believe the war is what JOHNSON describes it as, namely a war to protect the sovereignty of a weak nation that is being invaded by another

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nation, apparently it's weak but somehow represented as being much stronger. If it is a war for freedom, for democracy, for the sovereignty of states, then I suppose the people will go fight that war because that seems like a just war to fight. When people don't think that that's what the war is all about, then they have to search their consciences and find out whether or not they can submit to this, I should say, rather impudent request for obedience without any questions at all that the state seems to lay onto the people.

Question: The recent ruckus that we had downtown was not a mere matter of a few individuals putting themselves on the block, so to speak, and making a decision that they would not participate and taking the consequences, which I believe could be up to a very stiff term in jail. A sympathetic group gathered and created a major ruckus downtown. There have been other of these ruckuses and, of course, this gets out of the bounds of some individual, evidencing willingness to go to jail as a protest, which we have always had a few people like that, into a major riotous situation which certainly is a seditious situation, which we all have to be concerned with.

Answer: Did you see the demonstration?

Question: No, I didn't see it, I just read the accounts.

Answer: You read the accounts and the accounts convinced you that there was a ruckus, that there was a riot, that there was something seditious going on?

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Question: Well, they certainly suggested it. At least two individuals got arrested out of the process.

Answer: Do you know anything about the circumstances under which those individuals were arrested?

Question: Well, I know that at least one of those individuals has been arrested on previous ruckuses around town, and I'm inclined to believe...

Answer: Which one is that?

Question: MICHAEL WOLF, for one, has been arrested in previous...

Answer: In what kind of ruckuses has he been arrested?

Question: Well, for one, trying to block school construction sites, and at another time in a race incitation.

Answer: Why did he try to do that?

Question: It's been a couple of years ago. Because of a race incitation incident, it's interesting that some of your operatives skip around from race incitation to anti-war efforts, to draft rebellions, to all sorts of other...

Answer: Oh, sure, they're all related.

Question: We're going to wind back up on the situation that we've been dealing about for all these years of "Impact" programs, that acts of protest suddenly to you become racial incursions and...

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No, we're talking about one which was validly a racial incident at the time. You say it was an act of protest; it was an act with racial overtones at the time that people carrying out this blockage of other people's labor to build a new school, admitted to avowed racial purposes at the time they did it.

But, BILL, the only reason it had any racial overtones, you know as well as I do, that the school was being built and it was objectionable to the community and it happened to be located in the middle of a Negro community, and certainly the people who were concerned happened to be Negroes.

We're not talking about Negroes here, CHARLIE. We're talking about white SDS operatives who were arrested at this construction site blocking.

Answer: What color they were doesn't happen to make any difference.

Question: The point is that these same people are creating ruckuses and seditious-type situations in different areas of concern whenever the opportunity comes up.

Answer: There's some kind of a relationship in our viewpoint between what happens in Mississippi and what happens in the ghettos of the big Northern cities and what happens in Viet Nam. I just can't imagine that anyone who can think consecutively for two seconds about what American culture is like should see anything peculiar in the fact that someone who is interested in the anti-democratic nature of the war in Viet Nam should also be interested in the

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anti-democratic nature of the welfare of the state.

Question: We're talking about legal violations of law, we're not talking about somebody who has an opinion...

Answer: Insofar as I know, nobody has ever pinned any legal violations of any law on anybody having to do with these demonstrations.

Question: To the contrary. This is precisely the point.

Answer: There is a charge that is going to be brought against two people and when that charge is heard, then...

Question: May I finish for just a moment here because this is highly significant and I believe the parallel is not necessarily what has been suggested a moment ago. This isn't a racial incident. The parallel here is that people have determined in their own minds which laws they will obey and which laws they won't obey and they're perfectly prepared to take their quarrel into the streets where traditionally the first victim has always been the concept of law. Every society that has permitted this to go on and has allowed its structure to collapse, as a result of the quarrels in the street, inevitably the whole society fell. Now, the parallel between your group and the men that are willing to take all protests, of any sort, into this area, leads me to believe that you're not willing to do this in what we conceive to be an orderly fashion, by law. Now is my analysis correct or have I missed something in your protests?

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Answer: Look, you know there's civil disobedience that from time to time shows up as a protest technique and it shows up under certain fairly definable circumstances. It wasn't used, however, in the draft protest. There was a very peaceable congregation of people carrying around some signs that advertised...

Question: Well, there is at least a difference of opinion on that because there have been arrests made. So somebody didn't agree that it was a peaceful protest.

Answer: Well, I think that people should know a little bit more about those arrests. There were two people trying to pass out some leaflets on the inside of the building and Federal marshals asked them to leave where they were, and they did. Without raising any question they went into the completely public part of the building. Federal Marshals asked them again to leave that part, and somebody had the terrific unAmerican audacity to say "Why?" at which point two of these guys were thrown up against elevators, beaten and kicked, and finally one of the Federal Marshals, guardian of your democracy, guardian of your law, guardian of your democratic structure, pulls out of his pocket what looks like a fat fountain pen, unclips the end, and douses one of these kids, a freshman at Antioch, with a couple of eyes full of tear gas. He didn't even have the democratic courtesy to tell him, when he was screaming his head off in pain, what it was that hit his eyes, and how long he was going to be blind.

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Question: I find it quite significant, Mr. OGLESBY, that you use "your", not "our", but "your". Do you exclude yourself from this society? Is that the conclusion we draw?

Answer: You're quite right. I begin to wonder these days, after JOHNSON, for the most part, violated his mandate, the mandate that he got in 1964 to make peace, I begin to wonder whose America is this. So I don't think it's yours really any more than it is mine. I think ultimately if we talked long enough we would find out that we both have some complaints to make against this taxing...

Question: As against what complaints you may have or may not have against certain politicians, either in the Viet Nam case or in any other case in which your organization has been operating, the fact is that American boys are committed in Viet Nam, they're fighting, they're dying in Viet Nam. America has a responsibility when its young men are committed not to just send out some young men as sacrificial goats; we are committed, as a people, because our young manhood is committed. This is the other side of the coin, just as it falls upon the young manhood of a society to fight its wars, it also falls upon the society to back those men up when they're in war, and the fact is that your organization and kindred organizations that participate in these sort of activities are certainly giving aid and comfort to the enemy, those who are killing our boys, because it creates an image of a lack of support of the war effort, a lack of support of the commitment of the young men who are already over there. It certainly doesn't help their morale any, and it can't fail but to help the morale of their enemies.

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BILL, are you suggesting that in spite of the fact that American people might question the morality of something that is done in the name of our government that they don't have a right to object and voice their objections to this action?

They certainly have a right to object. I'm not questioning that. I'm questioning public demonstrations which suggest that the American youth is not backing that segment of American youth which is already committed.

Answer: What kind of conscience would we people have who don't believe the war is a good war, if we just shut our mouths and bite our tongues?

Question: If you don't believe that the selection of drafting people is a fair and equitable one...

Well, now, you have two different problems here CHARLIE, and I would suggest that you are playing with a very dangerous fire and, of course, I felt this for quite some time, because this goes back to the principle. If you are saying, "we don't agree with this," there is an orderly fashion for you to demonstrate this. It's called an election and it occurs every two years. It's not enough that you have a Presidential election, you have a Congressional election in the off year, for the very reason that you are suggesting. If the majority of American people do not agree with the administration policy, they have a way to change it. This is a far different thing from making your own moral determination as to what is right and wrong and acting it out accordingly.

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Answer: Have you ever read anything that's written down in the days when this country is really coming into its heyday? Have you ever read anything that Thomas Jefferson wrote? Do you care what Tom Payne wrote?

Question: Like the Boston Tea Party? What's your explanation of the Boston Tea Party?

The Boston Tea Party was not against the constituted government of the United States.

Answer: That all depends upon which point of view you took. As far as the British...

Question: There was no such thing as the United States...

Answer: As far as the British were concerned...

Question: It was not against the youth of a country who were committed in a bloody war. That's the significant...

Answer: What about the youth of the country who were joining up out of New York City and Boston to fight on the British side in the Revolution?

Question: They committed themselves, so this is my suggestion...if you people don't wish to be committed on the side of your age mates who are fighting and dying, you ought to leave this country and go join the cause of any other country you feel more dedicated to.

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Answer: This has always been your solution to the problem, leave the country. It's as much our country as it is your's.

Question: Are you opposing the war in Viet Nam now?

Answer: No, I'm not opposing the war in Viet Nam.

Question: Are you supporting draft strikes and refusals to serve?

Answer: I have some very serious questions about the manner of selecting people for the draft. I think it's unfair to exempt college students from the draft. I think that there are a lot of people who feel this way, but what you and CARL seem to be suggesting that if you happen to be of a minority point of view that you must act, we ask, be quiet, wait until litigation, and so on. I'm suggesting that a minority has as much right to be as vocal.

Question: Vocal, yes?

I think you are missing the point and I can't believe that it is unintentional.

Advocating a violation of the draft laws goes way beyond being vocal.

BILL, I want to divert this thing back to another point. Mr. OGLESBY, you are well aware, are you not, that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is very interested in you and also in the Students for a Democratic Society?

Answer: Yeah, they're charmed . . . seems.

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Question: They're very interested in you.

I would like to quote some things here, it says, this is from Mr. HOOVER, that communists are actively promoting and participating in the activities of your organization, the SDS. They tell of the 1965 parade in Washington to protest Viet Nam; that many known communists were noted among the people who marched in this parade. I don't know if you were there or not. Were you?

Answer: In the October parade?

Question: In the April, 1965, parade in Washington?

Answer: I was at that one, yeah.

Question: Yeah, you were at that one and at the 1965 meeting in Michigan when the anti-draft movement was dedicated.

Answer: No, it wasn't dedicated.

Question: Then it was launched, let's say.

Answer: No, it wasn't really launched either.

Question: There's an SDS stronghold isn't there?

Answer: Yeah, I think ALLEN is talking about a meeting, that took place in Kewadin, Michigan.

Question: Kewadin, Michigan, right. That 20 of approximately 100 participants there had past

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or present affiliations with the Communist Party or other subversive groups. Do you knowingly break bread and sit down with these people who have participated with communist organizations and subversive groups?

Answer: Why not? Are you scared of them?

Question: No, I'm not scared of them. I'm asking you...

Answer: I want to know why you asked me that question...

Question: He is not scared of them but he considers them loathsome and so do the rest of us.

Answer: We all have our views about what is loathsome in the way of people and I just wonder why you could find...

Question: You attended a convention with these people, which leads me to believe that...

Answer: With these people?

Question: That if you attended a convention with these people you undoubtedly had something in common with these people for you all to attend a single convention. I would like to know what this is.

Answer: Very likely, to the extent that I know what they think. Well...never mind even that. I go to the conventions because Students for a Democratic Society is an organization that is

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talking about things that BOB TAFT used to talk about...about what happens when you get a big government that tells people what to do, about what happens when you get big business that tells people what to do, big unions that tell the workers what to do. I'm talking about freedom when I'm talking to the American people. I'm not asking them whether they think of themselves as socialists or capitalists or communists, or even right-wingers or left-wingers because those terms are dead. I'm asking them whether or not they think that they're fit to govern themselves. And the reason that I'm with SDS is that's the only organization I can see around that's talking about the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. If it turns out that there are some people who are communists who were saved from state centralist Stalinism, and who have decided that what SDS wants to say to the country is better than what communism wants to say to the country, then, good, I'm happy to see them there. I would be happy to see John Birchers come too.

Question: You're connected with the Yellow Springs Peace and Freedom Center, aren't you, at Xenia Avenue and...

Answer: We live in an apartment behind that place and I've borrowed, over the few months that we've been there, two or three pieces of paper from them. That's my connection with them.

Question: That's your total connection with them. How about the Dayton Area Coordinating Committee, which has offices there?

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Answer: That's my sole connection with it, too; a couple of paper clips in that case.

Question: Mr. OGLESBY, I would like to go back for a moment because I'm convinced there is something here that we are just missing. We're not even talking on the same wave length.

Answer: I think that's true.

Question: When you speak in detail of your desire for freedom and, when at the same time you are highly critical of the Viet Nam war, the question immediately comes to my mind, do you really believe that there has been a choice or is this part of an overall conspiracy intended to deny Americans their freedom? Is this an adventure into which we have been thrust by our leaders, totally ignoring our own wishes? Is this the conclusion that you come to?

Answer: Very roughly, yes. I suppose I won't have time to elaborate that position much, but it seems to me again that when JOHNSON said in 1964...read his speeches please... that he wasn't going to send American troops to Viet Nam to do what Vietnamese boys ought to do, and that he wasn't going to bomb the North, and when GOLDWATER said that he was going to send more troops and that he wanted to bomb the North, the American people had a very clear-cut

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decision to make and they made that decision in a very clear-cut way. Within three months the troops were pouring in, and the bombing of the north had become a daily matter.

Question: Are you suggesting then that we should have withdrawn? Is this what we should have done? If the alternative was either to...

Answer: Of course, it's clear that Viet Nam belongs, if to anybody, to Vietnamese people.

Question: Yeah, but actually what you are saying, carried logically out, is that military decisions in the field, because we already had troops committed in the field in 1964...

Answer: Do you know how many?

Question: Not anything like we have now, but we still had thousands of troops who were actually in Viet Nam already, and you're in effect saying that military decisions in the field should be made according to the voters at election time at the ballot box, and I don't think any responsible political figure in any party in this country has ever narrowed the thing down to anything quite that preposterous. Now there were general policies aired at the election time and general directions stated, but there certainly was no concrete commitment on the part of either party or on the part of either candidate, or on the part of anybody that I know running for any office, to allow the election to permanently bind American military decisions in the field governing the loss or saving of American lives. This is a preposterous opinion.

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Answer: Point number 1 is that going from something like 20,000 troops operating in advisory capacities up to half a million troops, and it's probably on its way to a million, and it's probably on its way to an invasion of the North within two or three weeks, doesn't represent the result of a decision about purely military matters made in the military field, and it's preposterous to say so. Point number 2 is certainly the case, that people who are trying to administer a thing as big and as complicated as the United States of America, have to make some important decisions without consultation, but they can't make policy decisions without consultation, otherwise it's just stupid, preposterous to...

Question: You are saying then that the policy decision was made to remove ourselves from Viet Nam and that having been made by the electors in 1964, there was then no choice, we should have removed our troops when it became obvious that to achieve the ends that three Presidents, under three different administrations, had assumed was no longer possible. This is the military decision. Twenty thousand advisors could not preserve South Viet Nam, so the alternative then was x number of American troops, but if I understand what you're saying...

Answer: But you have to look back at what was happening in the State Department.

Question: Let me finish please! You are saying that in 1964 the policy decision was made to remove ourselves from Viet Nam. I am no supporter of Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. COLESEY, but I doubt strenuously that that was a decision made in 1964.

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Answer: Well, CARL, you're just going to have to look back at his speeches and you're going to have to ask yourself what in the world the man was saying to the American people and what in the world the American people thought they were voting for.

Question: When did he say we should withdraw from Viet Nam? I mean when was this statement made?

Answer: He said we're never going to get in there. He said...

Question: But we were already in there.

Mr. OGLESBY, at what point in a series of events would you finally concede to allow a friend of yours, or your son, or even yourself, to be inducted into the armed forces?

Answer: I don't quite understand.

Question: Under no circumstances would you ever concede to a draft?

Answer: To a draft?

Question: Unhuh.

Answer: No.

Question: Even if this country were to be invaded by enemy forces?

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Answer: If this country were invaded you wouldn't need a draft.

Question: You know, this is remarkably reminiscent of what WILLIAM JENNINGS BRIAN said in 1960.

Answer: What do you think the American people are if they need to be drafted to fight for their freedom, to fight for their country? Do you think they are a bunch of nincompoops and cowards? Give a man a reason to fight and he will fight.

Question: You can't effectively fight overnight. This is the remark made before World War I. A million men will spring to arms overnight. Nonsense! You don't do this. If you really want an effective fighting force, it takes months and perhaps years to train it, and what you're suggesting is that you're not willing that that be done.

Answer: Well, it's kind of a frivolous argument it seems to me that people have to show up at Draft Boards and either you send out the letters to get them there, along with police state coercion techniques, or you depend on their love for their freedom, for their community, for their people, for their values, and, if they have that love, if the state gives them a reason to love it, to feel unitary with it, then they'll come and, if not, they won't.

The program ends with the moderator stating the following:

"Gentlemen, we have reached that point in time; our program is over for this evening. Draw your own

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conclusions. Our 'Impact' panelists for this evening have included Mr. CARL RUBEN, with him Mr. WILLIAM FLAX, Mr. CHARLES COLLINS. Many thanks to our special guest, Mr. CARL OGLESBY of Antioch College and Students for a Democratic Society."

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CLJ:mb

# VII. OBSERVATIONS OF ASSOCIATES

An individual who claimed acquaintance with the Subject in the period 1959-1960, in May of 1966 furnished the following miscellaneous information concerning Subject:

He advised that in the earlier part of this period Subject impressed him as a normal, well adjusted, moral individual of great competence. He increasingly displayed an almost complete concentration in political matters and at the development of the Cuban crisis and in the period building up to it, Subject increasingly stated his admiration for FIDEL CASTRO. With the Gulf of Tonkin incident in 1964, Subject became personally deeply concerned in that incident and stated his criticism of U.S. presence and involvement in that area of the world. He stated his admiration for the Chinese in terms that caused this source to regard Subject as "pro Communist China", as well as "pro Cuba".

By 1964, according to this source, there was a marked change in the Subject, whom source at that time regarded as abnormal, immoral and "increasingly radical" in his political philosophy. He was at this time known to the source to be dating various women, other than his wife, and source stated he knew him [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] Additionally, he changed completely in his political philosophy from that of a "respectable liberal" to a person with "revolutionary beliefs and statements". In his discussions he showed himself to be completely "anti-capitalist" and almost abnormally "anti-military". He similarly developed an "anti-religious" attitude and almost daily spoke critically of the "American capitalist system"; the military industrial complex and similarly spoke in a derogatory fashion toward all organized religion.

Source described Subject as "completely an internationalist" who constantly stated high concern for world humanity. Subject told source in the fall of 1964, that he had voted as "far left" as he was permitted to in the 1964 national election.

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CLJ:mb

Source advised that the Subject in his employment at Bendix Systems Division, where he was employed prior to assuming presidency of SDS, he was most interested in arms control and disarmament matters and showed great interest in becoming employed in that area of Bendix Research, unsuccessfully.

With reference to Subject's past employment with Bendix Systems Division, which source described as security sensitive employment, source advised that Subject had access to very sensitive internal security information and showed great interest in arms control matters, particularly. He advised Subject in this employment assigned to himself the most sensitive assignments being handled by his technical editing staff at Bendix. Source advised that Subject displayed a personal philosophy of having a duty to humanity greater than his loyalty to America. Source stated Subject might use any information in his possession in any manner Subject felt might be helpful to aid in achieving world peace, irrespective of the best interests of the U.S. With reference to this past employment, source added that Subject was not a technically trained person and he did not believe that Subject gained in this Bendix employment information of technical value involving national defense. He stated, however, Subject through this employment gained significant national defense information which, if divulged, would be of value to potential enemies of the U.S. Source stated he does not regard Subject to be a loyal U.S. citizen and believes him to hold little or no allegiance to the U.S., Subject having frequently described himself as a "citizen of the world".

SF T-63, 5/2/66

A source who claimed [redacted] with the Subject for a six-eight year period prior to 1966, in March of 1966 furnished the following miscellaneous information concerning Subject:

b7D

Source described Subject as a brilliant writer, an "original thinker" and one who was highly regarded in his employment as "Technical Editor" at Bendix Systems Division,

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3

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CLJ:mb

Ann Arbor, Michigan. He described him politically as a "liberal", who developed into the "radical - left" during the fall of 1964, coinciding with the national election of 1964. Source advised that Subject's turning point from "liberal" to "radical - left" appeared to be on the question of U.S. intervention in Vietnam. At that time Subject became deeply concerned in political activity and considered political alternatives including "Freedom Now Party" and various socialist political parties. Subject told him at the time that he had become completely disgusted with traditional political parties in the U.S. and decided to vote for DU BARRY of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) ticket in November, 1964 election.

The SWP has been designed by the U.S.  
Attorney General pursuant to Executive  
Order 10450.

Source also said Subject, at this time, studied all material available on the Vietnam question and became somewhat of a self-made authority on the question. At this same time Subject, whose prior interest had been almost completely in the area of writing and drama, experienced some personal reverses in his artistic line and stated his disgust at further employment in the "war industrial complex" work in which Bendix was then engaged. He made known his desire to do positive work in the "arms control and disarmament area", which at that time was a research project undertaken by the Bendix Systems Division at Ann Arbor, Michigan. Subject, although not employed with the arms control and disarmament



Subject decided to resign his Bendix employment to work full time in the area of "peace" with the SDS.

On assuming the SDS Presidency in the summer of

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4

SF 100-55497

CLJ:mb

1965, Subject decided against [redacted] to Chicago, Illinois, b6  
where the SDS headquarters are located, stating that he had b7C  
taken the SDS position on condition that he would primarily  
engage in research to support SDS programs and decided the Ann  
Arbor area provided him with the best environment for this  
work. In this connection, he noted his access to the faculty  
at U of M, to the excellent library facilities and to the  
general environment which he considered important to his work.  
Subject complained that despite the fact he had undertaken  
the SDS position for the reasons mentioned above, he said he  
had found little time to do any good research and little  
writing and found himself in an almost constant travel status  
making appearances throughout the country for SDS.

Source described Subject as a qualified writer and  
musician. He said Subject is an acknowledged authority in  
matters concerning the theatre. He described Subject as an  
author and playwright having had some three plays produced,  
all of which were given critical approval. His most recent  
play entitled "The hero" almost made Broadway production in  
the recent past. It was the problem involving this play  
which anticipated Broadway production in 1965; whose failure  
got Subject completely involved in the SDS program regarding  
Vietnam.

Source advised that Subject is very dramatic in his  
activities and brings a dramatic flair to almost everything  
he undertakes. He stated he knew Subject as an acknowledged  
atheist and socialist in his general philosophy. Source  
stated, however, that he was certain the Subject had no  
inclination toward violence nor the advocacy of violence.  
He described Subject as primarily a humanitarian who  
frequently in discussion raises the principles of the  
Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, i.e. the idea that a citizen has  
an obligation to all of mankind and that such obligation is  
superior to a citizen's obligation to his own nation, when  
he finds its laws to be immoral.

Subject has advised source that he has close  
associations among the faculty at the U of M, Ann Arbor,

CPO-807

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SF 100-55497

...man, and that he regards as his own personal "hero" one

[redacted] Source described [redacted] subject's  
close friend and associate and one to whom subject frequently  
defers as an authority. b6 b7C

Subject has told source that he considered himself somewhat of a "figurehead" President of SDS. In this connection he explained that he regarded himself as a thinker, writer, and speaker for the SDS organization and not as one who set policy or ran the affairs of SDS. In this connection he advised source that he aligns himself with U of M faculty associates in counseling the SDS organization rather than "running it".

Regarding subject's intensive work and personal sacrifice in assuming SDS Presidency, source advised that subject has completely devoted himself for approximately the past year to work in a positive way to counter United States policy in regards to Indo-China. Subject [redacted]

b7D

Source advised that from his close acquaintance with the subject he believes that while the subject is dedicated to changing conditions in the United States, he is not advocating or interested in the overthrow of the United States Government or United States system. He has stated his conviction that in the work of the "New Left", appropriate changes in the United States system, domestically and internationally, may result.

Source noted that at the time subject assumed Presidency of the SDS there were press accounts stating that the SDS organization contemplated deliberate violations

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of U.S. Espionage Laws. With regard to this matter, source advised Subject told him that the SDS organization, as such, had contemplated or considered interests of propaganda of military personnel, which activity he said was known to SDS as a possible violation of U.S. Espionage Laws. In this connection source recalls Subject said he would personally not conduct any such illegal activity. Regarding sources of income, Subject advised source that he received a meager and inadequate salary as President of SDS and that he was able to do extensive traveling for SDS since his travel expenses were almost invariably covered by SDS. He stated that he generally does not receive money but rather that speaking engagements and tickets are generally sent to him by the Chicago Office of the SDS for travel to be made by him.

Additionally he said that regarding his foreign travel, such travel was made by him under funds furnished by a professors Vietnam protest group, not otherwise described.

SF T-46, 3/9/66

A source, who has been acquainted with the Subject professionally in recent years, furnished the following miscellaneous information concerning Subject in October, 1965:

A play written by the Subject and entitled "The Hero" was seriously considered for Broadway production in 1963-1964, however, due to technical difficulties of casting and otherwise, the production of this play has been indefinitely delayed. The play was produced on an amateur basis at the U of M during 1965. This play was described as a tremendous play which should establish Subject as a significant American playwright, comparable to ARTHUR MILLER. It is described as a modern epic of classic drama, similar to Greek drama and concerns the struggle of man with his guilt and redemption. It utilized CHRIST as a symbol of a redeemed man and one of the secondary characterizations is that of an "FBI Agent for GOD." It is not a political play or an anti-war play and it has no subversive ramifications.

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Another play of the Subject's, "The Peacemakers," is described as one having anti-war overtones and is based on the "HATFIELD-MC COY feud." Other plays of the Subject, "The Wind is No Wilder" and "Season of the Beast" have been produced in Hollywood and Texas, respectively, in recent years.

Source advised that Subject and [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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b7C

Source stated that Subject in his employment could properly be referred to as President of SDS and Playwright in that Subject makes no secret of his connection and complete sympathy with SDS. He has never expressed any sympathy for the Communist Party, United States of America, or any other group recognized as subversive in the United States. He is opposed to continuation of the war in Vietnam and United States intervention in the Dominican Republic. He admires any country which is socialist oriented and this is the basis of Subject's admiration for FIDEL CASTRO. He keeps his political beliefs and playwriting separated in his thinking and is professionally regarded as a worthy playwright, particularly because he raises his plays far above the level of mere protest or anti-war plays.

Subject appeared on the American Broadcasting Company's television program, "Issues and Answers" on October 31, 1965, discussed the Vietnam situation as President of SDS. In this program, he called the United States the aggressor in Vietnam.

SF T-64, 10/21/65

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VIII. DESCRIPTION

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| Name                | CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  |
| Race                | White  |
| Sex                 | Male   |
| Date of Birth       | July 30, 1935  |
| Place of Birth      | Ohio   |
| Height              | 6'1"   |
| Weight              | 165  |
| Eyes                | Blue   |
| Hair                | Brown  |
| Marital Status      | Married, wife <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></span> |
| Social Security No. | 222-30-5954  |
| Parents             | Father, CARL P. OGLESBY, SR.<br>Mother, ALMA WESTLING  |

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SF 100-55497

"GUARDIAN," FORMERLY KNOWN AS "NATIONAL GUARDIAN";  
WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"1. ... established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly...it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

The February 3, 1968, issue of the "National Guardian" announced that as of the issue of February 10, 1968, the "National Guardian" would henceforth be known as the "Guardian."

The February 10, 1968, issue of the "Guardian" is self-described as an "independent radical newsweekly" and is published by Weekly Guardian Associates, Incorporated. The "Guardian" lists its address as 197 East Fourth Street, New York City, New York.

The February 12, 1968, issue of the "New York Times" carried an article entitled "Radical Editors Say Their Job Is In 'Movement'." This article stated that the first issue of the "Guardian" was dedicated by the paper's staff "To those heroic Liberation fighters who last week began a major offensive against American Imperialism in South Vietnam."

This article quoted one of the editors as saying that "Our job is to build a radical movement. To quote the Cuban revolutionaries, we are not only to write about it, but also to move along with it--we are movement people acting as journalists."

"The 'Guardian' takes a strong left position, but it is not identified with any organized group because it believes that an American left ideology is still in the making. One of its purposes is to break away from the cliches of the left ideology of the past."

This article concluded by stating that the "Guardian" is considered the largest radical weekly in America.

APPENDIX

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AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on Page 22 concerning the American Labor Party:

- "1. 'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control'.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 78.)

- "2. 'Communist dissimulation extends into the field of political parties forming political front organizations such as the \*\*\* American Labor Party. The Communists are thus enabled to present their candidates for elective office under other than a straight Communist label'.

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

APPENDIX

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SF 100-55497

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

The "New York Times" city edition Tuesday, April 20, 1965, Page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP, which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This is to be accomplished through the Party's overall revolutionary strategy of raising the consciousness of the people and helping to provide ideological leadership in the working class struggle for state power.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention Milton Rosen was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and Levi Laub, Fred Jerome, Jared Israel, William Epton, Jacob Rosen, Jeffrey Gordon, and Walter Linder were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine; "World Revolution," a quarterly periodical; and "Challenge-Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

The August, 1968, issue of "Challenge-Desafio" sets forth that "above all, this paper is dedicated to the fight for a new way of life--where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire Government on every level."

The source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

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SF 100-55497

1

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
San Francisco Division

A source advised on August 1, 1960, the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938, and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on April 16, 1968 that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

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SF 100-55497

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

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SF 100-55497

1

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19 - 21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time, the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that Mike Zagarell, CP, USA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CP, USA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, Gus Hall, CP, USA, General Secretary, indicated that the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner was elected Chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, near the conclusion of the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised on July 26, 1968, that Jarvis Tyner continues in his position as Chairman of the DCA.

This fourth source also advised on July 26, 1968, that Jarvis Tyner is a member of the National Committee of the CP, US.

This fourth source further advised on July 26, 1968, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

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SF 100-55497

1

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE  
(known in San Francisco Bay Area as  
Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance  
also known as  
Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance,  
Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS). At a later stage in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYSA).

The source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15-17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

The source advised April 18, 1968, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of two locals: The San Francisco YSA and the Berkeley YSA.

The source advised on April 18, 1968, that the BAYSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch, SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

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SF 100-55497

1.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960 issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The National Headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

On October 31, 1967, a second source advised that at the 22nd National Convention of the SWP held in New York City from October 26, 1967, to October 29, 1967, it was stated that the YSA remained as the main recruiting ground for new SWP members.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

APPENDIX

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SF 100-55497

~~SECRET-NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

1.

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published monthly, except during the summer, by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can".

The "Young Socialist" newspaper was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The "Young Socialist" maintains office space at the headquarters of the YSA, Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City, and has a mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

A characterization of the YSA is set out separately.

CPO-820

~~SECRET-NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

APPENDIX

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

April 14, 1969

Title CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

Character SECURITY MATTER - SDS

b6  
b7C

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated  
and captioned as above at San Francisco.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

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CPO-821

UNITED STATES

NT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

DATE: 4/18/69

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-44781) (RUC)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

SM - SDS

(KEY ACTIVIST)

(OO:SF)

Re SFlet to Bureau, dated 2/28/69.

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
tacted on 4/9/69, by SA [redacted]

b6  
b7C

[redacted] was not advised of the fact that a long distance call was made to his residence telephone from the subject's telephone on 5/27/68.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] advised that he did not know the subject nor did he have any knowledge of the subject. [redacted] further stated that to his knowledge no member of his family is or was ever acquainted with the subject.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] stated that he had dealings with the Bendix Corporation between 1964 and 1966 concerning Intelligence Handling Systems but that his dealings with Bendix were only with [redacted] telephonically contacted [redacted] at the Bendix office in Ann Arbor, Michigan. [redacted] advised [redacted] that subject worked at Bendix during the time [redacted] had visited Bendix. At that time the subject worked in the print shop at Bendix and did not have access to any material concerning the projects in which [redacted] was engaged.

b6  
b7C

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - San Francisco (100-55497) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

JAM:jcb  
(5)

CPO-822



8-1-00  
SPS-WJ/mib  
9/22/71  
15648  
4/19/71

REC 105-142056-122

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 5/14/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO(100-60968)(100-55497)(P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT  
BUFILE 100-449698  
SF FILE 100-60968

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM-SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)  
BUFILE 105-142056  
SF FILE 100-55497

Reference is made to previous communications from San Francisco to the Bureau regarding the financing of New Left activities by universities and by capitalistic enterprises in the U. S.

By letter to San Francisco dated 3/18/69, the Detroit Office advised that CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR. had been at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, on 2/9/69, as a participant in an event billed as "Circus of Education." It was reported that OGLESBY was one of a large number of speakers who appeared in this teach-in type event which involved principally a seminar type of overnight discussion between intellectuals. OGLESBY was billed as a former national president of SDS.

Detroit further advised that on the day following, 2/10/69, OGLESBY spoke at an SDS rally on the University of Michigan campus. In both appearances, but particularly in the latter appearance, OGLESBY emphasized that the abolition of language requirements, a principal target of radical activities at University of Michigan recently, is but a minor element not worthy of serious consideration. He recommended to them they become involved in on-going protests at Michigan State University concerning the dismissal of Professor BERTRAM GARSKOFF.

4-Bureau(RM)  
3-Birmingham(RM)  
3-Detroit(100-33032)(RM)  
3-Sacramento(RM)  
2-San Francisco  
CLJ:st  
(15)

105-142056-

NOT RECORDED  
201 MAY 19 1969

CPO-823



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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100-55497  
CLJ:st

He considered that certain professors were being persecuted and denied tenure because of their political beliefs. He wanted the students to become involved in the fight against increasing repression on campuses and warned them not to become lost in petty academic reform movements.

OGLESBY went on to Michigan State University, East Lansing, after leaving Ann Arbor.

San Francisco was advised by [redacted] (protect identity) [redacted] Bank of America, 24th and Bryant Branch, San Francisco, on 5/9/69, that on 4/10/69, OGLESBY had deposited three checks in his account.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

One check was for \$300 and was drawn on the City National Bank, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on the account of the I.A.W.S. Convention.

A second check was for \$150 drawn by the University of Pacific, Stockton, California.

A third check was for \$250 and was drawn by the University of Michigan.

[redacted] advised that all three checks were payable to OGLESBY but he failed to obtain the dates the checks were drawn, the identity of the banks, or the account numbers involved. He did state that he had examined the two checks from universities and the checks did not refer to any student or special fund and appeared to be drawn on the regular funds of the university involved.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

The foregoing information concerning these payments to OGLESBY by University of Pacific and by the University of Michigan is being furnished the Bureau and to Detroit for possible future counter intelligence action relating to the New Left. No lead is being set forth for Detroit which has adequately furnished information concerning OGLESBY at Ann Arbor and at East Lansing.

SF 100-60968  
100-55497  
CLJ:st

With regard to the investigation of CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR. the following leads are set forth:

LEADS:

BIRMINGHAM

AT BIRMINGHAM AND TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA: Will identify the I.A.W.S. Convention and, if possible, will advise what OGLESBY did for this Convention which paid him \$300.

Will determine if any recording exists of remarks made by OGLESBY at this Convention.

SACRAMENTO

AT STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA: Will attempt to determine the activities of OGLESBY at University of Pacific for which he was paid \$150 and will determine whether any recording of remarks made by OGLESBY is available. This appearance at the University of Pacific was probably about 3/23/69.

The attention of Birmingham and Sacramento is called to Bureau instructions that recordings are to be furnished the Bureau of remarks made by any Key Activist.



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Ex-official expects SDS arrests soon

**UNIVERSITY**  
Some national officers in the controversial Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) may be arrested within the next two weeks, according to Carl Oglesby, playwright and past national SDS official.

Oglesby is currently lecturing at various arts and sciences classes at the University of Alabama. He is being sponsored by the University's experimental col-

lege, which offers non-credit studies relating to current issues.

"There are probably gonna be some busts in SDS within the next two weeks," Oglesby told a political science class Wednesday. Oglesby, a former Alabama resident, said he didn't know whether an indictment would be brought against him.

WHEN QUESTIONED about the SDS chapter at Tuscaloosa, Oglesby said there has not been much of an SDS presence here.

"The current national leadership of SDS is not doing a good job," he went on.

"The national leadership has stopped talking to the American people. They're throwing around a lot of catch phrases that don't make sense to people who aren't aware of issues around them."

Oglesby spoke less about SDS than the American youth movement in general. He said, "SDS produces an explanation for what people already feel. If people were content with our society, they wouldn't be listening to SDS."

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

5 BIRMINGHAM NEWS

BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Date: 5-15-69

Edition: METRO

Author:

Editor: JOHN W. BLOOMER

Title: STUDENTS FOR A  
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Character:

or

100-5225

Classification:

Submitting Office: BIRMINGHAM

☐ Being Investigated

105-142056-A

NOT RECORDED  
191 JUN 3 1969

CPO-826

8-100  
922191

SPS-JC/TMB  
447931

105

100

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (100-19978) (RUC)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, Jr.  
SM - SDS  
(KEY ACTIVIST)

DATE: 5/16/69

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re: SF letter March 28, 1969.

A review of New Haven files relating to the appearance of subject in this division disclosed no evidence of any taped or recorded speeches made by him.

REC 17

105-142056-123

MAY 19 1969

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (100-55497) (RM)  
1 - New Haven  
RRM/gjr  
(5)



5010-108-01

MAY 22 1969

8-1-00 SPS-JC/TMB  
922191 441931

*[Handwritten signature]*

CPO-827

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

FROM : *PHS*  
*7/1* SAC, DETROIT (100-33032) (RUC)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS  
(key activist)  
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

DATE: 5/21/69

Re San Francisco letter to the Bureau dated 3/28/69.

Relet requested a review of information available to Detroit in effort to determine whether any tapes made of subject's past appearances in this Division are available.

Detroit in review of its files has located no tapes or recordings of speeches made by subject in the past.

As San Francisco is aware, the verbatim contents of a widely publicized speech by subject was distributed by SDS setting forth his speech at the original SDS National Mobilization, WDC, 1965.

Subject has also co-authored with RICHARD SHAULL a book published by Mac Millan Company and entitled, "Containment and Change". A cursory review of that book indicates it to contain essentially the ideas expressed by subject in numerous speeches made by him in the period 1965-1967.

Detroit will remain alert to the possibility of obtaining tapes of any speeches made by subject in the future in this Division.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (100-55497) (RM)
- 1 - Detroit

JRC/jlg  
(5)

REC 27 105-142056-124

MAY 23 1969



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CPO-828

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-142056)

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-15928) (RUC)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS  
(Key Activist)  
(OO: SF)

DATE: 5/26/69

ReBulet 3/5/69, and San Francisco letter to Bureau, 3/28/69.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is one tape of TV program entitled "Impact" furnished 3/20/67 by [redacted] WCPO-TV, Cincinnati, Ohio, to supervisor [redacted] OGLESBY appeared as a guest on the 30 minute program at 6:30 PM, 3/19/67. b6 b7C

For information of the Bureau and San Francisco Division, a verbatim transcription of this tape appears on pages 12-34 of report of SA [redacted] dated 12/11/67, captioned, "CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR. SM - SDS". Complete review of Cincinnati file regarding subject reveals no additional tapes have been obtained concerning speaking engagements of subject OGLESBY. b6 b7C

2 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (100-55497)  
1 - Cincinnati

ECM/mul  
(5)

REC-49

105-142056-125

MAY 28 1969

INT. SEC.



JUN 6 1969

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

CPO-829

GROUP ON ENEMY 1  
CI File No. 100-15928 ✓  
CI (copy) dated 5-26-69  
Bureau 100-142056

Title

Character

Source of Eval.

*Tape from TV Program  
in which subject was  
guest.*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED ON encl 6  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-1-06 BY SP8 JPD  
44793/ 9 22/01

105-142056-125

**ENCLOSURE**

CPO-830

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-156780) (P)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, Jr.  
SM-SDS  
(KEY ACTIVIST)  
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

DATE:

ReSFlet to Bureau, dated 3/28/69.

A review of pertinent files of the NYO relative to the subject's participation in meetings conducted in the NY area on the dates indicated in referenced letter, disclosed that the NYO is not in possession of any tapes or recordings of speeches made by the subject.

On 5/22/69, MARTIN RUBINSTEIN, Attorney for ABC Radio and Television, 7 West 66th St., NY, NY, advised that he has instituted a search of his company's morgue of past programs in order to determine if a sound tape of subject's remarks on the television program "Issues and Answers", 10/31/65, is available for review. However, he stated that sound tapes of many programs recorded as far back as 10/31/65 have been erased where it was not foreseeable that they would be of value to ABC at some future date. He advised that he would notify the NYO of the results of the search.

## LEAD

### NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will re-contact MARTIN RUBINSTEIN, Attorney, ABC Radio and TV, 7 W. 66th St., concerning availability of sound tape of "Issues and Answers" program held on 10/31/65.

REC-23

105-142056-126

2-Bureau (RM)  
2-San Francisco (100-55497) (RM)  
1-New York

17 JUN 3 1969

VAA:pmh  
(5)

8A1-00 SPS-jcp/mjs  
922191 447951

INT. SEC.

CPO-831



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 7/1/69

FROM : SAC, SACRAMENTO (176-5) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
Bufile 100-449698  
SF File 100-60968

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)  
Bufile 105-142056  
SF File 100-55497

ReSFlet to the Bureau, dated 5/14/69.

## AT STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA

[redacted] University of the Pacific (UOP), advised on 5/23/69, that on the basis of information furnished he could not immediately locate the check in question.

b6  
b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN

On 6/23/69, [redacted] produced records for a check in the amount of \$150 made out to CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, Jr., from UOP. This check was issued on 4/2/69. OGLESBY's address was listed as 1268 Vermont, San Francisco, California. The records indicate the reason for this check is "Honorarium for Clausen-Tippett Symposium". Check was vouched [redacted]

b6  
b7C

[redacted] UOP.

Inquiry at the Religious Studies Department at UOP disclosed that [redacted] is presently [redacted] [redacted] at the Boston University Library in Boston, Massachusetts. He is to

b6  
b7C

- ④ - Bureau (RM)  
(2 - 100-449698)  
(2 - 105-142056)  
4 - San Francisco (RM)  
(2 - 100-60968)  
(2 - 100-55497)  
1 - Boston (Info) (RM)  
2 - Sacramento  
RFS/trv (11)

105-142056-  
NOT RECORDED

140701 8 1969

CPO-832

8-1-00  
922191

SP-5 JCM/MS  
44793/

SC 176-5

return to Stockton around 7/22 or 23/69.

LEAD:

SACRAMENTO DIVISION

AT STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA. Will. upon instructions  
from Office of Origin, interview [redacted] re b6  
activities of Subject at UOP. b7C



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

DATE: 6/2/69

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-67470)(RUC)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS  
(KEY ACTIVIST)  
OO:San Francisco

Re San Francisco letter to the Bureau dated 3/28/69.

Review of Los Angeles files has failed to identify any instances where recordings have been made of speeches given by subject while in Los Angeles.

It is noted that the only public appearances by subject in Los Angeles were in 1965 and 1966 and, although one of his talks was reported in a local Los Angeles newspaper, there is no indication that any recording was made.

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - San Francisco (100-55497)
- 1 - Los Angeles

JCW/vjh  
(5)

REC-32

105-142056-127

17 JUN 5 1969

INT. SEC.

CPO-834

55 JUN 11 1969

8-100 SP5 JCM  
4411931 922191

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*Memorandum*

TO : Director, FBI ( 105-142056

) DATE: 7/9/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO ( 100-55497 )

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SH - SDS (Key Activist)SOG ACTION:  
(Records Branch)☐ Post and destroy  
☒ File

This case will be delinquent.

Date of Bureau deadline: 7/14/69 (Ninety days following Summary Report dated 4/14/69)

## Reason for the delinquency:

Involvement of Agent assigned on other deadline matters plus stenographic difficulties.

Date the report or necessary communication will reach the Bureau:  
7/25/69AEC zone designation; e. g., OR, CH, etc.:  
(This applies only to 116 cases.)☐ No administrative action necessary.b6  
b7C

CPO-835

8-1-00 SDS-JS/TMB  
447921 923191

~~SECRET~~

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1,6)  
DATE 12-21-2011

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

|   |  |  |   |
|---|--|--|---|
| REPORTING OFFICE<br><b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>          | OFFICE OF ORIGIN<br><b>SAN FRANCISCO</b> | DATE<br><b>7/17/69</b>   | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD<br><b>5/1/69 - 7/11/69</b> |
| TITLE OF CASE<br><b>CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, Jr.</b> |  | REPORT MADE BY<br>[REDACTED] b6 b7C  | TYPED BY<br><b>crv</b>                          |
|   |  | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><br><b>SM - SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)</b><br>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED<br>HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT<br>WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE |   |

REFERENCES: Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 4/14/69 at San Francisco.  
Sacramento letter to Bureau, dated 7/1/69.

b6  
b7C

- P -

ENCLOSURES:

TO BUREAU

Two (2) copies of FD-376.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

No recordings of the Subject's speeches were made on 2/4/69 at Santa Cruz, California or on 4/24/69 at Boulder,

| ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED   |   |      |       |         |            | ACQUIT-TALS  | CASE HAS BEEN:<br><br>PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO<br>PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
|---|---|------|-------|---------|------------|--|--|
| CONVIC.   | AUTO.   | FUG. | FINES | SAVINGS | RECOVERIES |  |  |
|   |   |      |       |         |            |  |  |
| APPROVED <i>CW</i><br>COPIES MADE:<br><br>⑧ - Bureau (105-142056)(RM)<br>1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 3)(RM)<br>2 - Sacramento (176-5)(RM)<br>3 - San Francisco (100-55497) |   |      |       |         |            | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE  |  |
|   |   |      |       |         |            | DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW<br><br>105-142056-128<br>JUL 24 1969<br>REG-7<br>EX-103 |  |
| Dissemination Record of Attached Report   |   |      |       |         |            | Notations  |  |
| Agency  | REST, S.S., STATE, RAOLISA, CD-ATA [REDACTED] |      |       |         |            | b6<br>b7C  |  |
| Request Recd.   |   |      |       |         |            |  |  |
| Date Fwd.   | 7/30/69                                       |      |       |         |            |  |  |
| How Fwd.  | RB  |      |       |         |            |  |  |
| By  | [REDACTED]                                    |      |       |         |            |  |  |

CPO-836

71 AUG 21 1969  
33

497931 922191 8-1-69

~~SECRET~~

SF 100-55497  
CLJ/crv

Colorado.

On 6/18/69 SA [ ] used the pretext of being a student at San Jose State College who was trying to make contact with the Committee of Returned Volunteers (CRV) who might know about CRV plans for a group to go to Cuba.

b6  
b7C

Informants who have furnished negative information regarding SDS activities of this Subject are:

b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b7D

This report is classified "Confidential" because data furnished by SF T-1 through SF T-5 and SF T-6, if disclosed, could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

LEADS:

SACRAMENTO

AT STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA. Will after 7/23/69 interview [ ]

[ ] University of Pacific to ascertain the nature of the speech made by OGLESBY at Clausen-Tippett Symposium, the reason for his selection as a speaker, and whether there is a recording or transcript of his remarks. The information contained in Sacramento letter of 7/1/69 and any new information developed should be furnished in LHM as required by Bulet to all offices dated 5/5/59, captioned "NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - FINANCES, IS - MISCELLANEOUS (KEY ACTIVIST)".

b6  
b7C

- B -  
COVER PAGE

CPO-837

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 100-55497  
CLJ/crv

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. Will continue to investigate and closely follow activities of this Subject and will surep within ninety days.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-1 is

[REDACTED]

b7D

100-55497-152

SF T-2 is

[REDACTED]

(S)

b1  
b7D

[REDACTED]

(S) b1  
b7D

SF T-3 is

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

SF T-4 is

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

b7D

SF T-5 is

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]

SF T-6 is

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

100-55497-146

BFA, 24th and Bryant  
Streets, San Francisco,  
California (By request)

SF T-7 is

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

BH 100-5663

University of Alabama,  
Tuscaloosa, Alabama  
(By request)

- C -  
COVER PAGE

CPO-838

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 100-55497  
CLJ/crv

SF T-8 is

BH 100-5663

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] University of  
Alabama, Tuscaloosa,  
Alabama (By request)

SF T-9 is

BH 100-5177

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

University of Alabama,  
Tuscaloosa, Alabama  
(By request)

SF T-10 is

NY 105-87000-1B

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Woodside, New York  
(By request)

- D -  
COVER PAGE

CPO-839

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the ☒ Security Index or ☐ Agitator Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the ☒ Security Index Card ☐ Agitator Index Card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the ☐ Security Index Card ☐ Agitator Index Card are necessary and ☐ Form FD-122 ☐ FD-397 submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.  
Date photograph was taken \_\_\_\_\_.
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and \_\_\_\_\_ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are \_\_\_\_\_.
6. ☐ This report is classified \_\_\_\_\_ because  
(state reason)
  
7. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) \_\_\_\_\_.  
☐ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)
  
8. ☐ This case no longer meet the ☐ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation.
9. ☒ This case has been reevaluated in the light of the ☒ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)  
of his leadership in SDS and his public influence on revolutionary activity.
  
10. ☐ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☐ is not tabbed Detcom.  
☐ Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons)

PRIORITY I

- E\* -  
COVER PAGE

CPO-840

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

July 17, 1969

Director  
United States Secret Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D. C. 20220

C O N F I D E N T I A L

GTT

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☐ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
  - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
  - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
  - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available  
☐ may be available through \_\_\_\_\_

Very truly yours,

*John Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))  
U. S. Secret Service

CPO-841

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form  
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ A L

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 3)(RM)

Report of:

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

Office: San Francisco, California

Date:

7/17/69

Field Office File #:

100-55497

Bureau File #:

105-142056

Title:

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, Jr.

Character:

SECURITY MATTER - SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)

Synopsis:

Subject resides at 1268 Vermont Street, San Francisco, California and is a writer. In April and May, 1969, he has made speeches in Alabama, California and Colorado. He has engaged in no local SDS activity. He attended SDS NIC meeting at Austin, Texas 3/27/69 but did not attend NIC meeting on 3/31/69 and did not speak at SDS National Council meeting 3/29 - 30/69. No information that Subject attended SDS National Convention in June, 1969, and he was not re-elected to NIC of SDS.

- P -

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. Residence and Employment

OGLESBY resides at 1268 Vermont Street, San Francisco, California and is self-employed as a writer.

SF T-1, 6/3/69; [Redacted]

[Redacted]  
San Francisco, California  
5/1/69 through 7/11/69

b6  
b7C  
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC~~  
~~DECLASSIFICATION~~

## II. ACTIVITIES

### A. Activities in Students For a Democratic Society (SDS)

A characterization of the SDS  
is contained on an appendix  
page.

OGLESBY as a member of the National Interim Committee (NIC) of SDS attended NIC meeting on March 27, 1969, but did not attend NIC meeting on March 31, 1969. He did not speak during the National Council meeting of SDS at Austin, Texas on March 29 and 30, 1969. At this National Council meeting and following, OGLESBY has been under criticism from leaders of SDS because he has stated that he sees no sign that the working class is ready to create revolution in this country. He also states that when he does see sign of revolutionary potential in the working class, he will then go to the working class with a program. Because of these comments, OGLESBY was referred to as a "Right Winger" and he has lost some favor among the leadership. However, because of the high regard for him, and his intellectual abilities, he is still well regarded personally and it is believed among the leadership that he will correct his misinterpretation of the revolutionary potential of the working class.

SF T-2,  
4/1 - 19/69

A leaflet was distributed in Berkeley, California on April 11, 1969, captioned "The Two Worlds of CARL OGLESBY". This leaflet is an analysis of OGLESBY written by ED CLARK, not otherwise identified, and is purported to have been taken from "New Orleans MDS Newsletter, October, 1968". Doubt is expressed in this article concerning OGLESBY's qualifications for Movement leadership. OGLESBY is accused with being confused about the nature of imperialism, about the State and about how the revolutionary movement should conduct itself. The article states there is a "radical CARL OGLESBY" and also a "liberal CARL OGLESBY" and it documents each by reference to statements and writings of OGLESBY. The conclusion was that OGLESBY is not qualified to be a leader of SDS or a leader of the movement.

SF 100-55497  
CLJ/crv

The foregoing leaflet was furnished by the Naval Intelligence Service Office, San Francisco, California on April 15, 1969.

At the SDS National Convention in Chicago, Illinois on June 18 - 22, 1969, OGLESBY was not among those nominated for NIC.

SF T-3, 6/23/69

The National Officers of SDS and the members of NIC of SDS who were elected at the SDS National Convention at Chicago, Illinois did not include CARL OGLESBY.

SF T-4, 6/27/69

At the National Convention of SDS in Chicago, Illinois on June 18 - 23, 1969, there was a split between adherents of the National Office of SDS and a faction supporting the views of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP). The PLP faction of SDS elected its National Officers and a National Interim Committee which did not include CARL OGLESBY.

SF T-5, 6/26/69

The Subject was seen in San Francisco during the period of June 18 - 22, 1969.

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Supra, 6/18, 24/69

Confidential informants who have knowledge of various phases of SDS activity in the San Francisco Bay Area have advised as follows during June, 1969:

There are no off-campus chapters of SDS which are active in the San Francisco area. OGLESBY has not engaged in any known SDS chapter activity in the San Francisco Bay Area.

B. Public Appearances

The "City On a Hill Press", student publication of the University of California, Santa Cruz, California (UCSC) in its issue of February 7, 1969, carried a report of an SDS sponsored rally and series of seminars held at UCSC on February 4, 1969. CARL OGLESBY, identified as an author and leader of SDS, was one of four speakers at the rally. According to this article, OGLESBY applauded efforts at UCSC to give dignity and identity to minority groups and he explained that true equality can never be achieved by forced integration.

A news article appearing in the "Colorado Daily" an independent newspaper published by the Students of the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado in its issue of April 25, 1969, states that on April 24, 1969 on the university campus about 200 students met "the private person" of CARL OGLESBY, co-founder and former president of SDS as he "rapped", played his guitar and sang. OGLESBY reportedly stated that he had written two novels and several plays before he became a public person. He stated he found that politics is an exhaustive category and that "You can't write a poem, smell a rose, or take a hike or study engineering without being political." He said he found that he could not stay alone and write but had to become involved in politics. He said "The upshot is that the energy I used to devote to writing plays I now devote to writing songs because poems become very public and important in the hands of the minstrel."

As of April 10, 1969, OGLESBY was in possession of three checks described as follows:

A check in the amount of \$300 drawn on the City National Bank of Tuscaloosa, Alabama drawn on the account of the I.A.W.S. Convention.

A check in the amount of \$150 drawn by the University of Pacific (UOP), Stockton, California.

The third check was for \$250 and was drawn by the University of Michigan and payable to OGLESBY.

SF T-6, 5/9/69

SF 100-55497

CLJ/crv

CARL OGLESBY spoke at the annual convention of the International Association of Women Students (IAWS) at the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama during April, 1969. The source stated that the remarks made by OGLESBY were "quite mild" and this source subsequently furnished a transcript of the speech he delivered before IAWS.

SF T-7, 5/23/69

OGLESBY was paid \$300 as a honorarium for his participation at the IAWS Convention.

SF T-8, 6/6/69

The following is a transcript of OGLESBY's speech before the IAWS Convention as furnished by SF T-7:

"This is the last time I'm going to do this. I've been doing it for three and a half years, and the function of it has come to an end. For a long time, it seems for a period running backwards, before the beginning of 1965 when I started doing this, and up through a good part of that period an overriding need of the United States was to create the possibility of a critical publicist. The minds have been so baffled, stifled, and closed down by some 15 years of cold war ideology that the very possibility of construing our world otherwise, outside the demands dictated by official, orthodox descriptions of the confrontations between east and west and the events taking place within our society, has been all but totally vanquished. There were a few carriers of the torch, but the torch was badly flickering. What was needed was for people first of all to constitute the possibility of political and practical criticism, of western culture generally and in particular of the events going forth in those days. They were constituted of a

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real nature and explanatory of the real purposes, the real intentions, toward mankind as a whole, of what we call western civilization. The time is now for change. It's no longer possible to find anything like the audiences that at one time, back in the old days for that meticulous detailed study expositions of the origins and meanings of the portents of the war in Viet Nam. Today, especially among young people, what happens is that the truth about Viet Nam has simply been absorbed. You don't have to any more go back to the archives to find out what people like Dean Acheson were saying to Senate Committees in 1944, as to the post-war intentions and objectives and the American policy. You don't have to go into the meanings of the definite encounter with the French, the political significance of Dien Bien Phu. The long term American attitudes toward China, the Wilson Lansing line toward the Soviet Union, what really happened at Potsdam, Gulf of Teran, Bellou Woods and so on. You don't have to unpack the whole closed up historical suitcase anymore, before people can understand that their lives are vast and impelled and that the threat under which they live has everything to do with the organization of their political economy. It is increasingly true that that critique does not have to be made before people understand that whether or not they are going to be able to live their lives as ordinary human beings depends on the past, this moment and the future for being extraordinary. Everyone understands even if he doesn't know the numbers and the way he's supposed to lay it down and so many statistics that things are not well with us. That the guilt of our community, frightening and

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psychotic as it is, is manifested, perhaps before its manifested anywhere else, in the motions of the underclass, the blacks and that class whose peculiar position put it at a focal point, where it can integrate the mass of information coming in from all sides about what's happening in the world. That unrest should focalize among those who are most victimized by the way things are. And among those who are best able to understand the historical and economic structures of that victimization shouldn't strike anybody as a surprising development. What else could happen? It's of course those most victimized who first understand the nature of their victimhood. It is, of course, those who a certain kind of privilege puts at an operation pinnacle, in the observatory of society. Who are required to meditate over that victimization and who are required quite soon to come to that conclusion that victimization is not something natural or organic, something that comes from the cosmos stars and way things are but on the contrary is promiscuous, that is to say it is man's creation and is therefore man's obligation to change. It strikes me as really remarkable therefore that even the quick and general testament of the student movement, and I include within it on one fringe, the liberal fringe of it, the demand for student power, should act as if somehow the sociology of the campus and the historical development of our University themselves as universities could put us in touch with even the beginning of an explanation of this fact. It's not because the colloquium matriculated into what it is today, from a certain relation to high school that Columbia rebels; that San Francisco State College, in the state I live in, rebels has nothing to do with a particular constitution of universities today as compared with a particular constitution of and colleges of yesterday. The most self evident feature of the student rebellion, which by the way is spreading rapidly outside the student constituting these days, the most impressive leading feature was that it was not caused by

events on the exterior of the university, in which however, people were to discover that the university was structurally complicit. That's a fancy way of talking about the Viet Nam war, about the situation of black people and poor white people in this country. It's a fancy way after a lot of other items I mentioned of talking about the peculiarly warping and destructive effects of the plastic hip culture which becomes to gnaw these days at America's middle classes. In a word, as I said a minute ago, things are not okay with the world and it won't do for us to sit around talking about how we can bottle up the effects of that wrongness to the people who are sensitive to that wrongness. It just won't do. To talk about what can be done to dampen the student revolt. It won't do to talk about how black people can be pacified, unless at the same time one says also that application is what will come after the problem is solved; the problem of racism. That the pacification of the campuses is what may come after the problem of militarism, the last effects of the American imperialism are somehow solved. To put it in another way all I'm trying to do is to say what in your hearts everyone of you knows you're not really students, that's a provisional and transitory category at best, and it doesn't really have to do with the fact, that like anybody else, you have to read the newspapers and account for what's going down in the world that you live in. And that you're students that accounts for nothing about you. It counts in no way for the fact that, to put it mildly, not even one of you can have an unencumbered romance or enjoy the old occasional leans of being young. Are explicitly prohibited to your generation those joys have been pre-empted by an overriding sorrow, by an anguish whose effect is total. In which, on pain of being somewhat less than an ordinary human being, you have to learn to respond in a somewhat extraordinary way. All of which may



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sound like a lot of left wing gobble-de-gook. When I started saying or thinking these things sometime back I wasn't a left winger and if any one had called me a radical my reaction would have been real surprise. From the point of view I entertained several years ago, not so many as that, maybe four or five, a radical was simply a kind of an interesting lunatic and the best version you could ever find of him was the bohemian. And when I started expressing certain reservations, it was no greater than that five years ago, about the meaning of the conduct of the war in Viet Nam and when somebody responded to what I had to say about the war by saying those were radical ideas, my response was that's foolish to say that I'm being radical. It's as if to say that I was radical first for some abstract reason or because I had an unbalanced interior and because I was radical I was putting forth radical opinion on the issues of the day. And that's just not what happened. What happened was that like everybody else, I had to respond to the world that I was living in. It developed that there was a series of events that made it pressingly necessary for me to respond. In a very low level of energy simply by thinking and developing some opinion in the first place. But after that because I went into a community, I found my way into a community of people with whom the same thing had happened, it became possible and therefore necessary to extend beyond thought. To extend politics beyond meditation and into the arena of action. The things that made me become a radical, that made me become a rebel, it seems to me, are the events grown

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larger of course in the intervening years, which are stalking your lives too. I didn't know then, I wasn't sure then that you must know and be sure today that we're talking about the survival of the species. We're not talking about anything less dramatic than that, less cosmic, less magnificent, we're talking about the survival of the species. And that's in very concrete terms, it's not poetry and that's not levity. I'm trying to say that man is on the threshold of his grave. And what's been around for about 30,000 years is not going to be around much more unless marked changes take place in his egological relationship with the earth. And that furthermore, in order for him to even take up the labor the very beginnings of the labor of changing that relationship with the earth. First of all and above all he has to change his political relations with his master. There are what, about 3 1/2 billion of us, 3 1/2 billion, it's not all that many. I don't know how many dinosaurs produced but I guess it's way in front of us. We're still back there at 3 1/2 billion. And certainly we haven't lasted as long yet as the dinosaurs did but it's not yet proved that we have somehow a species that's going to be certified by the natural forces that produced us. But in any case this meager 3 1/2 billion with it's meager history, it's still more meager conscious history. The case is that we're not doing well. The case is that with all but about a 7th of the 3 1/2 billion of us that there are in the world, starvation is the order of the day. This is something that crazy left wingers used to say in the middle of the '50s. Today it's in the common parlance of all political discussions and nobody left, right, or center disputes it. The world is starving to death and that's getting worse every day. Latin America even

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produced more food in the pre World War II period than it produced in 1968, but the population of Latin America had expanded by at least 3 1/2 per cent per year, since that period. I don't think anymore that it's necessary to go through that in a dry statistical way. We all know the truth, we read it in our Sunday supplement. In the last paragraph somebody will say well maybe there's a little hope that if this idea is tried out or if maybe this fertilizer works or if that way of irrigated soil is proved and can be got into place in time, maybe, maybe, maybe. But everyone who talks honestly about this will say further that more people are starving, not because the earth was unabundant or not because the earth failed mankind, but because mankind fails mankind. Because there are political structures of a very particular historical and concrete order that have decreed the underdevelopment of the many is the condition of the overdevelopment of the few. Now what it is called historically is imperialism. And once upon a time the American response since our society someway originated in a fight against another empire. Once upon a time the stout response to the idea of imperialism in the United States was that we were against it. We were not imperialists, we wouldn't cotton to anyone else being imperialists. That was one of the bases in our fight with the red devils of the U.S.S.R. And certainly it would have never occurred to us to take from the poor what the poor have been barely able to produce. A short little speech like this, one of the things the matter with a short little speech like this is even a long little speech. There is just no place to try to get into people's heads that there is a power

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structure in the United States; that this is a class hierarchical position that very few people on top of society money in terms of what is profitable for them and that whenever they put on the face of reformism they do so because there has been anger at the base of the society. Anger expressing itself in violence. This is no place to try to lay out a particular sort of relationship that exists between the American power of the East centered in New York and, in a familiar sense, the Rockefellers scattered throughout all the heavy industries of the United States and reaching across the Atlantic to turn out parts in western Europe. It's no place to try to tell that the second World War did not financially bring to a close the long imperialism of the western state, the western civilization which had been characteristic of it. Even before the Renaissance forward. You see, people are trained to react to certain words. And one of those words is imperialism. With the training they have imperialism is a bad thing that other countries, not ourselves, do to people. See what we would have to do and this is the reason that from now on we have to meet with urgency and in small study groups to learn what the world is all about. What all we've had to do now is bearing closely and carefully. Run down the state of each Latin American country for example, talk about what the United Fruit company has been doing in the Central Republics for so long. Talk about who owns the Panama today. Talk about who owns the steel, who owns the iron, see affairs of what other people and to what purpose? Why is it that the United States insists upon having a massive encounter insurgency program whose effects and field of operation is worldwide. What was the political base for the Alliance

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for Progress, first question. Second question, what is the political reason for the failure of the Alliance for Progress? Why is it exactly that the Peruvians could so easily rebel around an oil well that none of us even knew about? What is it, in a word, that underlines the Vietnamese demand for liberation of their people. Confined to a few minutes of this kind of situation I can, of course, seem at best like an interesting individual, especially if you're hospitably predisposed to begin with. At worst, what'll it be some kind of raving lunatic who has managed to tax his brain with every idiotic cliché that you can find in the Marxist Leninist annals. It's, of course, America's choice. America has the choice of staring her destiny of annihilation full in the face, of saying that the problems we face these days amount together upon us and grow darker and deeper every day are problems of the surface, that structurally we feel intact and all we need is a new set of legislation. A new legislative program, yet one more billion dollars to be funneled down empty reformism in Latin America, in Watts, in Harlem, in Selma, in Chicago. And a little bit of give on the issues to power. See, people who think that the whole thing is okay can't understand why the students are reacting as if it isn't. So they are forced to explain an evident phenomenon to themselves in terms of psychological ingenuity. For a long time the fad was the generation gap something between father and son, mother and daughter. So all you had to do was to ease the pressure on these very post neglected children of ours. Allowing the frivolity of a little more hand in the affairs of university government and then assuming that their energy will dissipate and they will all go away and everything will be all right again.

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CLJ/crv

You know things won't be all right again. Not if 3 billion out of 3 1/2 billion keep on starving to death and not if things keep on being the way they are with the black people in this country and not if our culture keeps on turning us into so many television zombies and plastic freaks. You know that things are not going to be okay. Sisters, you know that! There isn't any way that you can keep from knowing that extremism and excess on campuses and in the ghetto. See, people are responsive to the world and saying the world is breaking. And they are saying that we've got to get together and try to stop it. That means violence not because we want violence but because there are strong people in this world that don't want us to try to change it. Now you know that. Those of you who come from the south seem to especially to know that. Well these issues can only be glanced at in a situation like this. Again that's why this situation is no good and I'm not going to get myself into it any more, at least not for a long time until some changes. What we have to do is to understand that nothing is important except the world right now. Nothing is important except people. You know these little conventions' are worthless, SDS that doesn't mean a thing. Progressive Labor Party, that doesn't mean a thing. Institutions of federal government, everything is suspended now and we ask only one question, What's to save the species from destruction? Now there are people who are failing to respond to that imperative. It's getting to the time where you're just going to have to decide which side you're going to be on. Thank you."

OGLESBY was paid \$150.00 by UOP, Stockton, California by check dated April 2, 1969. This amount was an "honorarium for Clausen-Tippett Symposium" and this payment was requested

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[redacted]  
[redacted] UOP. [redacted] will not be  
available until the latter part of July, 1969.

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[redacted]  
UOP, Stockton,  
California,  
5/23/69, 6/23/69

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OGLESBY was present at the University of Alabama from the late afternoon of May 13, 1969 until the afternoon of May 16, 1969. During that period he spoke at final seminars of the Experimental College and before scheduled class sessions in the University of Alabama (UA). The appearances before class sessions at UA was under the auspices of the Experimental College of UA. He was identified in publicity as a playwright and former national officer of SDS who would lead seminars on "The American Youth Movement" and "University unrest".

The UA Experimental College is a program set up during the Fall Semester of 1968 under the auspices of the University and the Student Government Association to provide various courses not offered in the regular curriculum of UA.

[redacted] UA and has been connected to some degree to the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). [redacted] various regional SSOC conferences during the current school year.

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[redacted] had requested permission from the UA Administration to hold several of the seminars on the main quadrangle of UA. This permission was refused. There were no incidents concerning the talks given by OGLESBY at UA and most of the discussions were held in regular university classrooms or at the Alabama Student Development Center located on 13th Avenue, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

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OGLESBY was paid an honorarium of \$1,000 by the Experimental College. The Experimental College has funds which

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CLJ/crv

are appropriated to it by the Student Government Association at the University of Alabama.

SF T-9,  
5/8, 16/69

A characterization of SSOC is  
located on an appendix page.

An article appearing in the "Birmingham Post Herald", a daily newspaper of general circulation in Birmingham, Alabama, dated May 15, 1969, reflects the following article concerning the visit of CARL PRESTON OGLESBY to the University of Alabama:

"SDS has gone crazy.

"A great craziness has come over SDS, said Carl Oglesby, playwright and former President of Students for a Democratic Society, as he spoke to an American Studies Seminar at the University of Alabama, Thursday.

"We must make it possible for others to relate to us in order to regain public sympathy for our cause. We owe the people an apology for our mistakes of the past - mistakes of over-eagerness, over-estimation of the degree of consciousness of those to whom we want to relate, and our jealousies', Oglesby told the students.

"When questioned about violence on campuses, he answered with the question, 'Who is violent and who is not violent?'

"He told the group that Columbia University, as a slum lord, carried out severe social violence against the people of Harlem, and was thus more guilty of violence than student protestors.



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"'There would have been student unrest without Vietnam or racism,' said Oglesby. 'There has been a change of values - the old mandates are no good any more.'

"Concerning the generation gap, he accused the older generation of 'selling their souls for what they got'.

"Oglesby, a Californian, spent Wednesday and Thursday speaking to student groups under the sponsorship of the University of Alabama Experimental College."

An article appearing in "The Birmingham News", a daily newspaper of general circulation in Birmingham, Alabama, and dated May 15, 1969, under the caption "Ex-Official Expects SDS Arrests Soon", reflects the following article:

"Some national officers in the controversial Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) may be arrested within the next two weeks according to Carl Oglesby, playwright and past National SDS official.

"Oglesby is currently lecturing at various arts and science classes at the University of Alabama. He is being sponsored by the University's Experimental College, which offers non-credit studies relating to current issues.

"'There are probably gonna be some busts in SDS within the next two weeks', Oglesby told a Political Science class Wednesday. Oglesby, a former Alabama resident, said he did not know whether an indictment would be brought against him.

"When questioned about the SDS Chapter at Tuscaloosa, Oglesby said, 'There has not been much of a SDS presence here'.

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CLJ/crv

"'The current national leadership of SDS is not doing a good job', he went on.

"'The national leadership has stopped talking to the American people. They are throwing around a lot of catch phrases that do not make sense to people unaware of issues around them.'

"Oglesby spoke less about SDS than the American Youth Movement in general. He said, 'SDS produces an explanation for what people already feel. If people were content with our society, they wouldn't be listening to SDS'."

#### C. Other Activities

A flier entitled "Activities of the Committee of Returned Volunteers", Box 380, Cooper Station, New York City, Spring, 1969, disclosed that in the San Francisco area the "Committee of Returned Volunteers" (CRV) had met with CARL OGLESBY, SDS leader and author. This flier contains a statement concerning CRV, its goals, issues, membership, tactics and structure. This includes information the CRV seeks radical change in United States policy toward Asia, Africa and Latin America and sees itself as having a special role to play in a larger movement to transform United States society. CRV is said to be made up of persons who have worked as volunteers in various foreign countries under programs of the American Friends Service Committee, the Peace Corps and other groups.

SF T-10, 6/9/69

OGLESBY stated on June 18, 1969, that he had had contact with CRV on only one occasion which was a meeting held in a Quaker meeting house in the Richmond Area of San Francisco. He said he had no names or addresses of members of CRV but he felt sure that CRV could be contacted through

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CLJ/crv

the Quakers as it seemed to him that CRV was influenced principally by the Quakers. He denied knowledge of CRV plans to send anyone to Cuba.

Pretext tele-  
phone call by  
agent of FBI,  
6/18/69

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A source has advised that the Students For A Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. From an initial ideological posture of "participatory democracy," the current line of the national leadership reveals an adherence to Marxism-Leninism. MICHAEL KLONSKY, National Secretary, in March, 1969, called for the building of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement. The program of SDS has moved from involvement in civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war position and finally to its present advocacy of an anti-imperialist line, linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. China, Vietnam, and Cuba are regarded as countries which are leading the world-wide struggles against United States imperialism. On the other hand, SDS regards the Soviet Union as an imperialist power and does not support the policies of that country.

SDS maintains a National Office in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Its official paper "New Left Notes" reflects the line of the national leadership and program adopted at meetings of the National Council and National Interim Committee (NIC). Three national officers and a NIC of eleven members are elected each year during a June National Convention.

SDS Regional Offices and university and college chapters elect delegates to National Council meetings wherein program and ideology are debated, but each Region and chapter is autonomous in nature and is free to carry out independent policy and programs reflective of local conditions.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

The "New York Times" city edition Tuesday, April 20, 1965, Page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP, which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This is to be accomplished through the Party's overall revolutionary strategy of raising the consciousness of the people and helping to provide ideological leadership in the working class struggle for state power.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention Milton Rosen was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and Levi Laub, Fred Jerome, Jared Israel, William Epton, Jacob Rosen, Jeffrey Gordon, and Walter Linder were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine; "World Revolution," a quarterly periodical; and "Challenge-Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

The August, 1968, issue of "Challenge-Desafio" sets forth that "above all, this paper is dedicated to the fight for a new way of life--where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire Government on every level."

The source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) was formed on the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of Southern student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment, and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similar interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., (SCEF). SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of the SDS.

Beginning in the Fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, October through May each year, a publication, "New South Student," which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-Communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.

On July 2, 1968, a second source advised that SSOC continues to be headquartered at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, and continues to defend and espouse the pro-Communist and anti-United States position with particular emphasis on attacking United States policy in Vietnam and emphasis on attacking the Selective Service System. Source two noted that SSOC Chairman Thomas N. Gardner in the Summer of 1967 traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he met with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), and that SSOC staff members Bruce Smith and Alan Levin traveled to Cuba in the Summer of 1967 and February, 1968, respectively.

By letter dated April 26, 1968, on SSOC letterhead mailed to the general SSOC membership over the

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIXSOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

signature of Mike Welch, Executive Secretary of SSOC, it was announced that as a step toward close relations with the Students for a Democratic Society and better communications with the movement nationally, SSOC and SDS have worked out an exchange of the "New South Student" and the "New Left Notes," and that SDS and SSOC were exchanging contact lists of their respective memberships for this exchange.

The May, 1968, issue of "New South Student" indicates that the SSOC mailing address is P. O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212, telephone number 615-291-3537, and the masthead describes the organization as "An association of young concerned Southerners dedicated to social change," as taken from the preamble of the SSOC constitution.

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

July 17, 1969

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

Title            CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, Jr.

Character       SECURITY MATTER - SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)

Reference       Report of SA [REDACTED]  
dated and captioned as above.b6  
b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



FBI WASH DC

FBI SAN FRAN

7:41 PM DEFERRED 8/13/69 KCK

TO DIRECTOR (105-142056) AND BOSTON

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55497) (P) 1P

*C. D. [unclear]*  
*WCS*  
*EST*  
*Shoppelford*

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, SM - SDS (KEY ACTIVIST), OO: SF.

A RELIABLE SOURCE TODAY ATTEMPTED TO CONTACT OGLESBY AT HIS HOME IN SF. UNMAN, WHO DECLINED TO FURNISH HIS IDENTITY, TOLD SOURCE OGLESBY STILL LIVES THERE BUT IS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]  
SF AIRLINE SOURCES UNABLE TO LOCATE ANY TRAVEL INFO CONCERNING OGLESBY.

BOSTON CONSIDER POSSIBILITY OGLESBY IS ATTENDING SOME CURRENT CONVENTION OR GATHERING IN NEW HAMPSHIRE AND ALERT ANY SOURCES WHO MAY HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF OR BE ABLE TO DETERMINE SUBJECT'S LOCATION AND ACTIVITIES. REFER KEY ACTIVIST ALBUM AND HANDLE IN ACCORDANCE BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS.

SF WILL MAKE FURTHER EFFORTS TO OBTAIN SUBJECT'S LOCATION.

END

ERT

FBI WASH DC

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REC 9/05-142056-129  
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57 AUG 27 1969

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105-142056-130 IN THIS FILE SKIPPED DURING  
SERIALIZATION.

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CPO-867

8-1-00 SPS-J/TMB  
922191 447731

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EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)  
DATE 12-21-2011

SUPPLEMENTAL CORRELATION SUMMARY

(See Correlation Summary dated 12/28/66 filed as 105-142056-49)

Main File No: 105-142056  
See also: 176-60

Date: 8/8/69

Subject: Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr.

Date Searched: 3/28/69

All logical variations of subject's name and aliases were searched and identical references were found as:

Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr.  
Carl Oblesby  
Carl Ogelsby  
Carl Oglesbee  
Carl Oglesby  
Carl P. Oglesby

Carlos P. Oglesby  
Charles Oglesby  
Karl Oglesby  
Carl Oglesky  
Karl Ogrezbic

This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed above. All references under the above names containing data identical with the subject have been included except any indicated at the end of this summary under the heading REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY. References indicated in the block as SI contain the same information as the foregoing serial although the information may have been received from a different source.

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION. IT IS DESIGNED TO FURNISH A SYNOPSIS OF THE INFORMATION SET OUT IN EACH REFERENCE, AND IN MANY CASES THE ORIGINAL SERIAL WILL CONTAIN THE INFORMATION IN MORE DETAIL.

Analyst

Coordinator

b6  
b7C

Approved

b6  
b7C

per oga letter dated 12/17/08  
Army information declassified 3/5/08

REC-105-142056-131

OGA Info Remains classified  
PER LTR DTD 11-29-00

11 AUG 22 1969

CPD-868

51 AUG 26 1969

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SPS-J/TMB

447931 92a/91 8-1-00

ABBREVIATIONS

Add. info.....Additional information appearing in this reference which pertains to Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr. can be found in the main file or elsewhere in this summary. This information may have been received from a different source.

SDS.....Students For a Democratic Society

UM.....University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

\*\*\*\*\*

(S).....RELATIVE WHO HAS BUREAU MAIN FILE

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(S) (S)

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The 2/9/66 issue of "The Maneater", University of Missouri campus newspaper, carried an article "New Left Aims High", by Ralph Hallow (100-437896), President of the University chapter of SDS,

(continued)

CPO-869

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(continued)

Columbia, Mo. Hallow stated that last October Carl Oglesby and Paul Booth, executive secretary of the SDS, met with Peace Corps officials about the possible collaboration in training volunteers in community-organizing projects in urban ghettos. It was suggested that SDS might put returning Peace Corps volunteers to work (article enclosed).

100-437896-17

(5)

On 6/29/65 [redacted] Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, (protect identity), advised that Carl Oglesby, President of the SDS, was completely committed to the SDS. He acknowledged he was surprised at being elected President and realized he was in part President in name only. He said he planned to visit Saigon, Vietnam in the near future, purpose not stated, and planned to address the US Congress in the fall of 1965.

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The 10/26/65 issue the "Michigan Daily", Ann Arbor, stated that "last night" a meeting was held to discuss the draft and alternatives to it. Carl Oglesby spoke on the Vietnam war and on legal aspects of obtaining conscientious objector status.

105-141143-4 p.11,12

(16)

On 3/11/66 a meeting sponsored by the Unitarian Public Forum was held at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 West Eighth St., Los Angeles, California (100-411310) featuring Carl Oglesby. Oglesby was critical of the US foreign policy in Vietnam and stated the US had no right to be in Vietnam [redacted].

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100-411310-102 p.9

(5)

SI 100-397414-28 p.9

(5)

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The following references in the file captioned "Inter-~~University Committee For Debate On Foreign Policy, aka."~~ (IUCDFP) set forth activities of Carl Oglesby, President of the SDS, UM, Ann Arbor, Mich., in affairs of this organization during 1965 and 1966. Oglesby was prominently involved as a participant in several major IUCDFP affairs, both regionally and internationally. The IUCDFP contributed \$1500.00 toward a "peace mission" by Oglesby to Saigon, Vietnam during the summer of 1965. Oglesby participated in Teach-Ins and was a sponsor or supporter of a Call for an "Alternative Perspectives on Vietnam" conference held in September, 1965 at UM. During a National Leadership Conference held September 9-11, 1966 at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Oglesby was elected to a new committee known as the November 8 Ad Hoc Committee.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

62-110039-310 p.4,5,22,26,27,37, (2)  
42,67,77,81,133  
-318 encl.p.4 (2)  
-363 p.9,15,57 (2)

This reference is a Detroit report dated 9/16/66 setting forth results in the investigation of [redacted] (151-2581). Various individuals at the Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, Mich., advised that [redacted] Carl Oglesby, a former employee of Bendix and currently President of the SDS. One individual described Oglesby as a "charismatic leader". (no activities were set out). b6 b7C

151-2581-16 p.3,5,6,7,9  
(27)

PSI [redacted] (protect identity) [redacted] a letter sent by the SDS to the Chancellor of the University of California, Berkeley, requesting the use of Sproul Hall steps on 10/29/66 for a mass outdoor meeting, "Black Power and Its Challenges". Among those who had agreed to attend was Carl Oglesby. b6 b7C b7D

157-6-47-936  
(18)

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[ ] made available "A Call For a National Student Strike For Peace" to be held at the University of Chicago on December 28 and 29, 1966, hosted by the Chicago Peace Council. Initial sponsors for the Conference to plan a National Student Strike For Peace (100-446761) included Carl Oglesby (copy of the Call enclosed).

100-446761-2X encl.p.3

(13)

The 10/6/66 edition of the "Nashville Banner", page 85, contained an article which stated that the Vanderbilt Committee for Alternatives to War in Vietnam intended to bring Carl Oglesby, past president of the SDS, to the Vanderbilt campus at Nashville, Tenn., during the next year for a speech.

The above appeared in the file captioned "Nashville Committee For Alternatives to War in Vietnam".

100-445776-7 p.23

(27)

This reference is a Detroit report dated 1/25/67 regarding Student Agitation at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan (100-151448). Information indicated that Carl Oglesby, national president of the SDS in 1965 - 1966 was the organizer of and currently a member of the most recent SDS project known as the Radical Education Project. During 1965 - 1966 the UM was the scene of almost constant Vietnam protest activity by the SDS and allied organizations. In June, 1965 Oglesby, newly elected president of the SDS, stated that the Society was considering plans - including possible deliberate violation of US espionage laws -- to try to force the government to defend its Vietnam position in court. Oglesby was described as a "modern day Saul", completely dedicated to the SDS. He privately admitted he was President in name only and had aligned himself with the UM faculty associates in counseling the SDC rather than "running it" (details set out).

100-151448-25 p.6,7,11,32,

(4)

72,147,148

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[REDACTED]

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The Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Department of the Army, advised that on 10/1/68 [REDACTED] (25-556639) stated in connection with his membership in the SDS, that during the Spring semester of 1967 he helped organize a symposium at Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colo., at which Carl Oglesby was one of the speakers.

b6 Per Army  
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25-556639-5 encl.p.5  
(2)

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[REDACTED] advised that on 4/14/67 the Student Mobilization Committee (100-446761) held an anti-war meeting at Wheeler Hall, University of California, Berkeley. The speakers who denounced US policy in Vietnam included Carl Oglesby, representative of the SDS.

100-446761-99 p.5  
(13)

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[REDACTED] Milford, Conn. PD, furnished a leaflet entitled "National Mass Mobilization to End the War In Vietnam Now!" The leaflet set out a partial list of sponsors of mobilizations to be held on 4/15/67 at New York and San Francisco. The list included Carl Oglesby (leaflet enclosed).

The above appeared in the file captioned "Committee For Non-Violent Action".

100-426761-1626 encl.p.7  
(5)

CPO-873

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The 4/23/67 issue of the "Hartford Courant" contained an article captioned "Black Power Seen Lost on Negro" pertaining to a symposium on social change held at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., 4/21-22/67. Speakers who led workshops included Carl Oglesby, president of the SDS, who discussed the "New Left" (copy of article enclosed).

94-58128-6

(4)

SI 94-58128-5

(4)

NY 3810-S\* advised that on 5/11/67 [redacted]

[redacted] told Stanley Levinson that [redacted] had received word from Vietnamese representatives in Stockholm, Sweden, that they would like to meet in Paris on Monday with a group from the US peace movement, and had invited various individuals including Carl Oglesby, former president of the SDS, and Ivanhoe Donaldson, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Levinson was very disappointed on the selection of the people to attend and thought they were the poorest representatives of the peace movement. He was of the opinion that [redacted] had suggested such a meeting, since the North Vietnamese would have no occasion to know Oglesby or Donaldson. (XU)

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The serial indicated that Levinson was reportedly a member of the CP in 1963. [redacted] N.Y., had been connected with subversive organizations and had received North Vietnamese propaganda from representatives in London of a communist newspaper in Hanoi.

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100-442529-2226

(12)

PSI [redacted] (protect identity) made available a leaflet which indicated that the SDS and the Chicago Peace Council (100-444394) would sponsor a "Public Rally of Concern" on 5/24/67 at the Epiphany Church, 203 South Ashland, Chicago, to protest the Vietnam war. Listed as a speaker was "Carl Oglesby: SDS, just returned from Stockholm, Sweden, where an International War Crimes Tribunal found the American public Guilty. Hear the evidence - and be the jury!"

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100-444394-32

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CPO-874

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The Naval Investigative Service Office, Boston, advised that on 4/23/67 Dr. Martin Luther King held a press conference at Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass., to announce plans for the formation of "Vietnam Summer" (62-111602). Those appearing with King included Carl Oglesby.

On 6/14/67 [ ] advised in connection with the organization of Vietnam Summer that Carl Oglesby had been recommended to the Sue Thresher Committee. b7D

62-111602-99 p.4,13,14

(3)

SI to par. 1

100-445267-14 p.4

(13)

SI 100-448284-7 p.8

(14)

SI 100-447387-9 encl.p.1

(27)

The 6/23/67 issue of "VS Summer News", publication of Vietnam Summer (VS) (62-111602) identified Lee D. Webb as one of the national founders of SDS. Members of the Steering Committee of SDS included Carl Oglesby.

The serial indicated that Lee Webb was Co-Director of VS.

62-111602-111

(3)

On 8/5/67 Special Agents of the FBI observed a demonstration protesting US intervention in Vietnam held at Austin, Texas. Carl Oglesby, introduced as the past President of the SDS, was the featured speaker.

105-149286-15 p.14

(17)

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The Intelligence Division of the Chicago PD (protect identity) furnished information regarding the National Conference For New Politics (62-110985) held at the Palmer House, Chicago, August 29 - September 4, 1967. During the various activities on August 30 and 31 various individuals including Carl Oglesby were noted in the drafting committee session or participating in other activities of the convention.

62-110985-401 p.53

(2)

SI 62-110985-561 p.58

(2)

SI 100-442529-2420 p.32

(12)

Bureau memo dated 9/13/67 stated that on 9/12/67 CBS Reports presented a documentary film on "The New Left" (100-446997). While the report showed numerous film clips of speeches made by such new left adherents as Carl Oglesby and others, opposition to this movement was hardly mentioned.

100-446997-4

(13)

In connection with Stop the Draft Week, aka (25-558874), the New York Office furnished literature distributed by "Resist", 166 Fifth Ave., NYC, on 10/2/67 at a press conference held at the New York Hilton Hotel, which was called to support draft resisters. Included was a list of signers of "A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority", which included Carl Oglesby, writer, Yellow Springs, Ohio (copy enclosed).

25-558874-102 enc.p.34

(2)

SI 25-520132-817 encl.p.7

(1)

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advised that the final session of the University of Utah sponsored "Spectrum - Vietnam" was held on 10/7/67 at the University, Salt Lake City. The anti-Vietnam viewpoint was presented

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by Carl Oglesby and Robert Scheer, Editor of "Ramparts" magazine. Following the session Oglesby, [redacted] (100-236758), and others went to a private residence in Salt Lake City to discuss the war further. X

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[redacted] PS (protect identity) furnished essentially the same information as above.

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100-236758-117 p.15

(5)

SI 100-398086-58 p.18

(5)

SI par. 1 above

100-449066-3 p.7

(14)

[redacted] 100-449066)

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SI 100-448875-2 p.15

(14)

SI 105-106720-75 p.19

(15)

[redacted] an established source, Asheville - Biltmore College, Asheville, N.C. (protect identity) made available a letter distributed on college campuses in the Asheville area by the Student Committee Against the War (62-111834), Durham, N.C., announcing a state-wide conference at the Duke Methodist Center on October 7-8, 1967.

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The letter indicated that "Carl Oglesby, Co-author, Containment and Change; former president, SDS; traveled to Vietnam" would participate in a Teach-In on October, 7.

It was noted that the Duke Methodist Center was believed to be located at Duke University.

Add. info.

62-111834-1 encl.p.3,4

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In connection with Stop the Draft Week aka (25-558874),

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[redacted] University of Iowa, Iowa City, advised that Carl Oglesby who was in Iowa City to participate in a Conference on Modern Letters, was the main speaker at a rally held on 10/18/67 at a campus administration building, to protest the war in Vietnam. Oglesby recounted a meeting with a Vietnamese professor during a recent visit to South Vietnam and charged that for the first time in recent history someone (North Vietnamese and the Liberation Front) was attempting to contain the US, just as this country had been bent on containing communism.

25-558874-309

(2)

[redacted] at Sacramento State College, Sacramento, Cal. (protect identity), furnished a list dated 11/4/67, of endorsers of the Peace and Freedom Party (100-447961). This list included "Richard Shaull, co-author with Carl Oglesby, Containment or Change. Two Dissenting Views in the New Revolutionary Age".

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100-447961-10 encl.p.4

(14)

The following references pertaining to demonstrations at Antioch College (100-58865) Yellow Springs, Ohio", indicated that as of 11/13/67 Carl Oglesby, former resident activist at the College, was a member of the Committee Against Defense Research which was formed to probe related questions, disseminate information, and provide the intellectual argument against military-financed research at the College. Oglesby appeared to be the leader of those advocating the cancelling of Department of Defense Contracts. The students had given the College an ultimatum that if they did not abrogate the contracts by 10/25/67 they would close the Behavior Research Laboratory which had the defense contracts. Demonstrations were held protesting the matter on October 18 and 25.

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| REFERENCE         | SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 100-58865-54      | (4,21)                  |
| -55 p.19,20       | (4,21)                  |
| 100-438262-16 p.3 | (3,21)                  |

The following references in the file captioned "International War Crimes Tribunal" set forth information regarding Carl Oglesby's participation and contacts in connection with the First Tribunal held in Copenhagen, Denmark, November, 20 - December 1, 1967. Oglesby was a member of the "jury" at the latter Tribunal.

| REFERENCE                        | SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 105-156243-177                   | (17)                    |
| -181                             | (17)                    |
| -190                             | (17)                    |
| -235 encl.                       | (17)                    |
| -A "The Times", London<br>5/3/67 | (17)                    |

The "National Guardian" dated 12/16/67, page 1, stated that Stokley Carmichael (100-446080) and Carl Oglesby met in Copenhagen, Denmark, two weeks ago while attending sessions of the Russell International War Crimes Tribunal. Carmichael, Oglesby, John Duffett, a special correspondent for the "Guardian," Vera Pegna, correspondent for the Italian monthly "Falcemartello," and some mutual friends met for several hours at Copenhagen's Baltic Hotel and engaged in a relaxed, off-the-cuff political dialogue (discussion in part set out).

100-446080-1042 p.21  
(13)

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On 1/4/68 PSI [redacted] the University of California, San Diego (protect identity), advised that an announcement of a Political Education Project by the Students of the Independent Left (100-446503) beginning in the winter quarter, had appeared on the campus. One of the discussion-seminars would be on "The United States, Viet Nam, and the Cold War", the basic text of which would be Carl Oglesby's "Containment and Change". It was Oglesby's thesis that the war in Vietnam was a consequence of America's economic interests in Southeast Asia and that our presence in Vietnam was consistent with the foreign policy formulated in the 19th century.

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CS [redacted] (protect identity), advised that Carl Oglesby was elected National President of the SDS on 6/13/65. He was the author of the Macmillan paperback book, "Containment and Change", which was to be used by the above described project.

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100-446503-13 p.2,8  
(13)

On 1/2/68 [redacted] Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio (protect identity), advised that since September, 1967 persons formerly active in the SDS at Antioch College had channeled their efforts into draft resistance groups. Carl Preston Oglesby, former SDS National President, continued to reside at Yellow Springs but had not been known to participate in SDS activities locally.

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100-449698-10-5 encl.p.1  
(21)

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b1 Per CIA  
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(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-148307-28 p.9,15

(17)

105-174719-5 p.2,14

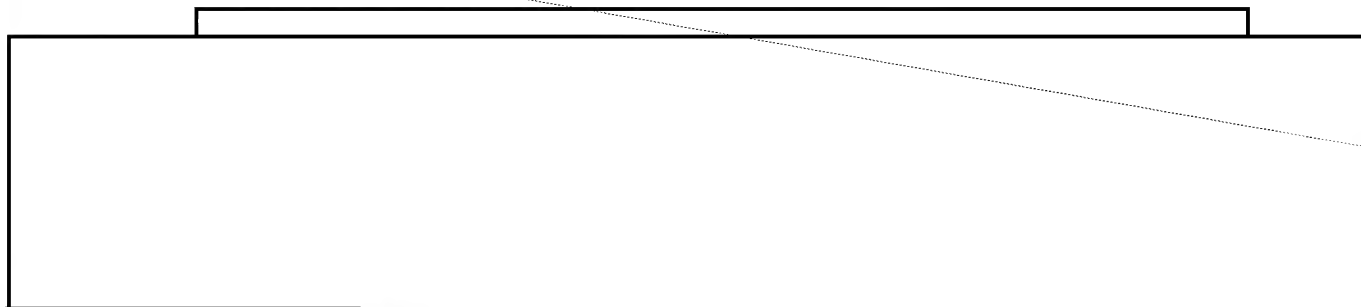
(17)

On 2/21/68 the NY Office furnished a copy of an advertisement which appeared in the 1/30/68 issue of the "NY Times". The advertisement entitled "If a thousand men were not to pay their tax-bills this year" contained a list of writers and editors, including Carl Oglesby, who pledged not to pay the proposed 10% income tax surcharge or any war-designated tax increase. Many would refuse to pay the 23% of current income tax which was being used to finance the war in Vietnam (copy enclosed).

The above information appeared in the file captioned "Writers and Editors War Tax Protest".

(S) 62-111830-5 encl.p.3

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b1 Per CIA  
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[105-106720-109]  
(15)

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The 2/13/68 issue of the "Daily News" Dayton, Ohio, carried an article captioned "New Left vs Status Quo". The article contained a photograph of Carl Oglesby, national spokesman for the New Left (100-446997) with a statement "I like being an American. But I feel lacerated on the inside when I realize where my country is at. My only response is to act".

100-446997-A "Daily News" Dayton,  
(13) Ohio 2/13/68

[redacted] Columbus, Ohio  
(protect identity) furnished a copy of a letter dated [redacted] on the  
letterhead of the Ohio Peace Action Council (100-448871), [redacted]  
[redacted] Yellow Springs, Ohio  
[redacted] with Carl Oglesby. [redacted] indicated that Oglesby knew  
about Senator Robert Kennedy's announcement to run for the Presidency  
[redacted] thought Kennedy should be supported if he could get  
[redacted]

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100-448871-5 p.66  
(14)

In April, 1968 a source who had furnished reliable information in the past (not further identified) advised that the Radical Education Project (REP) was a national action project of the SDS, with headquarters at Ann Arbor, Mich. REP affiliates had generally been identified as the "elder statesmen" SDS type, i. e. Alan Haber and Carl Oglesby, both UM graduates and former presidents (national) of the SDS.

105-165805-10  
(17)

[redacted] (not further identified; protect identity)  
furnished a copy of a letter dated 4/1/68 from [redacted] (100-451669),  
[redacted] the Ohio Peace Action Council. to Carl Oglesby [redacted]  
[redacted] The letter pertained to  
Johnson's statement that he would not run and Oglesby's predictions  
regarding Kennedy which might change the action in Chicago in August  
(not further described) (letter set out).

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Add. info.

100-451669-2 p.33,34  
(15,22)

CPO-882

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On 6/3/68 [ ] made available a copy of a newsletter captioned "Arkansas SSOC Summer Project" pertaining to projects of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). In connection with Land Research, one of the projects, the newsletter stated that Carl Oglesby recently said that work in civil rights and poverty was "fighting the seventh war from now". b7D

100-442529-2588 p.4  
(12)

[ ] advised that the National Convention of the SDS was held on the campus of the Michigan State University, East Lansing, during June 9-15, 1968. One June 15 the National Council of the SDS attempted to hold a meeting in connection with the convention; however, the meeting was postponed because only 13 of the 31 individuals expected to participate in the National Council meeting appeared. One of those who appeared was Carl Oglesby, former president of the SDS. b7D

100-449737-10  
(14)

[ ] advised that at the SDS National Convention held at Michigan State University on 6/15/68 Carl Oglesby was elected to the National Interim Council of the SDS. b7D

Add. info.

157-8589-1691 p.6,9  
(18)

[ ] (PROB) advised that the New York Peace and Freedom Party (62-112392) held a pre-petition drive conference and nominating convention at the Hotel Diplomat, NYC, on June 20 and 21, 1968. Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panther Party received 125 votes and Carl Oglesby received three votes for the Presidential nomination. b7D

62-112392-1  
(26)

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[ ] advised that the National Lawyers Guild (100-7321) held its 30th Convention July 3-7, 1968 at the Miramar Hotel, Santa Monica, Cal. At the banquet on July 6, Carl Oglesby, author of "Containment and Change", spoke and identified himself as one of the "new left". He used many quotations from Karl Marx and Che Guevara.

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100-7321-2385 p.3

(4)

SI 100-7321-2421 p.7,12

(4)

A review of the July/August 1968 issue of "Liberation Magazine", edited and published at NYC by David Dellinger (176-39), disclosed an article entitled "Revolution Violence Or Non Violence, A Reply To Barbara Deming". The article, by Carl Oglesby, criticized Deming's nonviolent stand in the February issue of the magazine.

176-39-22 p.11

(18) .

SI 105-55030-42 p.12

(15)

On 8/14/68 Bureau Informant 100 advised that [ ] (100-450463) had been in touch with individuals including Carl Oglesby, Peace and Freedom Center, Antioch, Yellow Springs, Ohio, in connection with the anthology he was preparing on revolutionary student movements in the US. (X) U

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100-450463-2 p.1

(14)

The Citizens For New Politics (CNP) Michigan State Convention was scheduled to be held August 14-15, 1968 at the UM, Ann Arbor, for the purpose of electing delegates to the National Founding Convention of Radicals to be held in Ann Arbor on August 17-18, 1968. The SDS faction was reportedly "pushing" Carl Oglesby for the Presidential nomination at the Convention.

[ ] State Police Department, protect identities).

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The above appeared in the file captioned "Peace and Freedom; New Politics Parties National Convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan 8/17-18/68".

62-112423-29 encl.p.8  
(4)

This reference is a WFO airtel dated 8/15/68 regarding the National Conference of High School Underground Editors (100-450615) which pertained to an article in the 8/5/68 issue of the "New Left Notes" (not further described). The article stated that the High School Underground Conference sponsored by the SDS and the Liberation News Service, would be held August 20-23, 1968 at the Hardy County Fairgrounds, Eldora, Iowa for the purpose of organizing a working news syndicate and a high school underground. Carl Oglesby was one of the scheduled speakers.

100-450615-2  
(14)

The following references on Carl Oglesby pertained to Disturbances Arising Out of the Democratic National Convention (176-1410) held during August 23-28, 1968 at Chicago. Information indicated that Oglesby was a speaker at the National Mobilization Committee to End the War In Vietnam rally held at Grant Park on 8/28/68. Various individuals were interviewed and some were unable to identify Oglesby. A representative of the Chicago PD advised that he did not observe Oglesby engaged in any activities which would come under purview of Antiriot Laws.

| REFERENCE                                   | SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER |
|---|-------------------------|
| 176-39-15 p.57,58                           | (22)                    |
| 176-49-7 p.18 (excerpt from speech set out) | (18)                    |
| -23 p.12                                    | (18)                    |
| 176-51-99 p.9                               | (18)                    |
| 176-62-37 p.27,31,39                        | (18,22)                 |

(continued)

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(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

|                         |      |
|-------------------------|------|
| 176-63-6 p.56           | (24) |
| 176-73-27 p.12,22,26,46 | (18) |
| 176-863-12 p.3          | (19) |
| 176-1410-303            | (2)  |
| -391 p.3                | (2)  |
| -401 p.14               | (20) |
| 44-40353-162 p.1234     | (24) |
| 157-8589-1654 p.7,11    | (18) |

b7D

[ ] advised that Carl Oglesby conducted a workshop on racism during the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) Conference and Membership Convention held at the University of Georgia, Athens, May 3-5, 1968. He indicated race riots would be held throughout the US during the summer and that the SSOC and the SDS would have to organize in black communities. [ ] (105-178431) who attended agreed.

The same informant advised that Oglesby was scheduled as the main speaker but did not appear at the SSOC Membership Conference held August 29-31, 1968 at the Mount Beulah Center, Edwards, Miss.

105-178431-10 p.5,6  
(18)

The 9/7/68 issue of "Ramparts", Ramparts Magazine, Inc. (100-445393) listed Carl Oglesby as a Consulting Editor.

100-445393-140 p.20  
(13)  
SI 100-445393-109 p.62  
(13) ("Ramparts", February, 1968 issue)

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-19-  
~~SECRET~~

CPO-886

~~SECRET~~

On 9/18/68 [redacted] (176-725) advised in connection with events transpiring at the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, that he knew a Carl Oglesby as a spokesman for the New Left, but did not recall Oglesby being present at a National Mobilization Committee meeting in Cleveland during July, 1968 where activities and tactics regarding the Convention were discussed.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

176-725-1  
(19)  
176-51-29 p.4  
(18)

WFO PSI [redacted] (protect identity) advised in connection with Student Agitation, Washington, D.C. (62-112228) that on 9/21/68 a meeting was held at American University to form the newly designated "University and Revolution Course". Carl Oglesby was among speakers scheduled for the coming year.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

62-112228-53-31  
(3)

Bureau Agents observed the SDS and Mobilization Committee to End the War In Vietnam sponsored rally held on 11/5/68 at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C. Carl Oglesby spoke during which he stated that the new generation now being forced into the streets by society would take over the streets by violence if necessary. He said the Vietnam situation was part of the system which did not want change.

176-254-16 p.3  
(27)

The following references set forth information regarding Carl Oglesby, national leader of the SDS, in connection with The November 8 Mobilization Committee; Peace Mobilization Committee (62-111181) from the time it was organized at a National Leadership Conference in Cleveland, Ohio, September, 1966, to 11/5/68. At this conference Oglesby was elected a member of the Steering Committee. He was a signer

(continued)

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(continued)

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 of a Call for a nation wide Mobilization, November 5 through 8 for Peace in Vietnam, for Economic Justice and for Human Rights, and was an endorser of a Nationwide Demonstration for Peace in Vietnam to be held in NYC on 4/15/67. Oglesby spoke at a SDS sponsored rally at Washington, D.C. on 11/5/68.

## REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

|                          |      |
|--------------------------|------|
| 62-111181-3 p.2          | (2)  |
| -9 (Director's Notation) | (3)  |
| -10 encl.p.4,6,12        | (3)  |
| -173 encl.p.12A          | (3)  |
| -187 encl.p.4            | (3)  |
| -203 encl.p.5            | (3)  |
| -385 encl.p.6            | (3)  |
| -2329                    | (21) |
| -2345 p.4,6              | (26) |
| -2355 p.3,5              | (26) |

The following references in the file captioned "Demonstrations Protesting United States Intervention In Vietnam" (VIDEM) set forth the participation or scheduled participation of Carl Oglesby in demonstrations by various organizations in various localities during the approximate period August, 1965 to 11/7/68. He was formerly President of the SDS and was a member of the Inter-University Committee For Debate on Foreign Policy, headquarters Ann Arbor, Michigan. He spoke or otherwise participated in demonstrations, meetings, sit-ins and teach-ins. In May, 1967 he attended the International War Crimes Tribunal held in Stockholm, Sweden. He reportedly was a close contact of a representative of Veheiren (Federation for Peace for Vietnam movement).

## REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

|                                |      |
|--------------------------------|------|
| 105-138315-3274 p.384,482,1030 | (15) |
| -3788 encl.p.3                 | (15) |
| -4026 p.273                    | (15) |
| -4254 p.3,12                   | (15) |
| -4425 p.11                     | (16) |

(continued)

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(continued)

REFERENCE

~~X~~  
SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

|                  |      |
|------------------|------|
| 105-138315-5307  | (25) |
| -6488            | (16) |
| -6805 enclp2     | (16) |
| -7259            | (16) |
| -7357 p.71,72,74 | (16) |
| -7580            | (16) |
| -7732 p.2,11,43  | (16) |
| -8165 p.11,13,14 | (16) |
| -8268 p.7,13     | (22) |
| -9597 encl.p.5   | (16) |
| -9850 p.2        | (16) |

[redacted] Gainesville, Fla., PD, (protect identity) furnished a brochure setting forth the program for an SDS Conference to be held November 8-10, 1968 at Florida State University at Tallahassee. The main topic was listed as "The Struggle Against Imperialism". Carl Oglesby was scheduled to speak on 11/8/68. b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] (PSI) advised that Oglesby had previously been invited to speak on the above date by the Student Government and this may have been the reason SDS members had decided to have a conference at Florida State University to coincide with Oglesby's speech. b7D

[redacted] Florida Bureau of Law Enforcement, Tallahassee (protect identity), advised that at the above conference Oglesby spoke on the plight of American Society and the "Movement", and stated that the SDS was growing at a fantastic rate. b6 b7C b7D

The serial indicated that the above conference was primarily an organizing conference for Florida SDS chapters.

100-452041-1 p.8,9  
(15)

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HERE The following references set forth information regarding the activities of Carl Oglesby in the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) (100-442367) during the approximate period October, 1966 - November 10, 1968. Oglesby spoke at the SSOC Convention held at the University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., May 3-5, 1968. He was tentatively scheduled to speak at the SSOC Convention to be held August 29-31, 1968 at the Mount Beulah Training Center, Edwards, Miss. He was also scheduled to speak at an SSOC meeting at Emory University, Atlanta, on November 8-10, 1968 but did not appear. The Nashville Committee For Alternatives to War In Vietnam planned to bring Oglesby to Vanderbilt University for a speech in November 1966.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

|                   |      |
|-------------------|------|
| 100-442367-42 p.5 | (11) |
| -50 p.20          | (11) |
| -209 encl.p.2     | (11) |
| -232 encl.p.3     | (11) |
| -242              | (12) |
| -243 encl.p.9     | (12) |
| -256 encl.p.4     | (12) |
| -271              | (12) |
| -292 encl.p.41    | (12) |
| -298 p.36         | (12) |
| -324 p.5          | (12) |
| -359              | (12) |

b1  
b7D

(S)  advised that on 12/5/68 The "Guardian" (100-357044) sponsored a benefit affair with the title "Radical Prospectives: 1969," held to celebrate its 20th anniversary, at the Filmore East Theatre, NYC. Carl Oglesby former president of the SDS, gave a rally or pep type talk on the general theme of where the movement was going.

100-357044-857  
(5)  
SI 105-168197-836 p.10  
(17)

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The following references pertain to Carl Oglesby's activities in the Radical Education Project (REP) (100-450968), an affiliate of the SDS at Ann Arbor, Mich., during approximately late 1965 to 12/9/68. Oglesby was a member of the Implementing Committee and was listed as a director at the time of its incorporation in 1966. As of January, 1966 plans had been made for a Free University At Ann Arbor with Oglesby as an instructor. An REP Speakers List obtained on 12/9/68, described the speakers of REP, their field and academic interest, background qualifications, and conditions under which they would appear as speakers. These speakers included Oglesby (list enclosed).

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-450968-9 encl.p.7  
-14 p.7,23-26,108,118,  
120,121,122,133

(14)

(15)

100-446200-5 p.17,18

(13)

(S) A Mexico City report stated that [redacted] advised that the records of the [redacted] indicated that [redacted] (105-191081) departed Mexico City for Havana, Cuba, on [redacted] Informant stated that she was destined to the "ICAP" (Cuban Institute for Friendship Among Peoples). (X) U

b1  
b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

It was noted that [redacted] to the ICAP, [redacted] Carl Preston Oglesby, [redacted] However, it was not indicated that they were traveling as one party.

b6  
b7C

105-191081-1

(22)

The Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, US Army, reported in connection with anti-war demonstrations during the Presidential inauguration ceremonies in Washington, D.C. on 1/18/69.

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(continued)

On this date the Brightwood Park Methodist Church, 8th and Jefferson Streets, N.W., was occupied by 300 to 400 persons including Carl Oglesby. A sign read; "Ohio State Sleeping Quarters". A parade was planned for the following day.

100-451694-569 p.2  
(15)

The following references set forth information furnished by US Army Intelligence which indicated that on 6/20/68 a source reported that [redacted] editor-director of the communist magazine, "El Corno Emplumado", Mexico City, stated that one Carl Oglepfy, identified only as an ex-student leader at the University of California at Berkeley, and one [redacted] a lawyer, not further identified, "were doing a good job for the Communist Party in the United States". The references indicated that Carl Oglepfy was possibly identical with Carl Oglesby, former president of the SDS, and [redacted] (S) was possibly identical with [redacted] (163-25058). b6 Per ARMY b7C

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

65-72310-7 encl.p.10

(29)

-16 encl.p.3,4

(29)

(S) -77 encl.p.101,102 [redacted]

b1 Per CIA  
b3

(21,29)

(S)

163-25058-2 encl.p.2

(29)

Correlator's Note: The references on Carl Oglepfy are being listed as possibly identical inasmuch as information was insufficient to positively identify them with Carl Oglesby.

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~~SECRET~~ The following references set forth activities of Carl Oglesby in the Students For a Democratic Society (100-439048) during the approximate period June, 1965 - 2/22/69. Oglesby was President of the SDS from June, 1965 to September, 1966 and was a member of the National Council and the National Interim Committee. He was active in the Radical Education Project of the SDS and a leader of the Committee Against Defense Research at Antioch College, Ann Arbor, Mich. He traveled to various states speaking or otherwise participating in demonstrations, meetings, etc. and in the summer of 1965 traveled to North Vietnam. He proposed an International Citizen's Peace Brigade to hold world wide peace demonstrations.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| 100-439048-845 (see index) (Interview<br>11/19/65) | (5)    |
| -1605 p.7,16,48                                    | (5)    |
| -1951 (see index)                                  | (6)    |
| -2040 p.9,21                                       | (6)    |
| -2088 p.29   | (6)    |
| -2094 encl.#5 p.2                                  | (6)    |
| -2101 encl.p.5                                     | (6)    |
| -2150 p.9,21                                       | (6)    |
| -2271 p.26,98                                      | (6)    |
| -2327 p.8,11-14                                    | (6)    |
| -2333 encl.p.13,17                                 | (6)    |
| -2359 p.15,16,33,86                                | (6)    |
| -2551 (see index)                                  | (6)    |
| 100-439048-3-77                                    | (6)    |
| -78  | (7)    |
| -86 p.6  | (7)    |
| -120 p.55  | (7)    |
| -154   | (7)    |
| -155   | (7)    |
| 100-439048-8-40 p.10                               | (7)    |
| 100-439048-10-47 p.7,8                             | (7)    |
| -57 p.6,7,14                                       | (7)    |
| -64  | (21)   |
| -81 p.1,4,9,10                                     | (7,21) |

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(continued)

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(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

|                                   |        |
|-----------------------------------|--------|
| 100-439048-11-69 encl.p.22        | (7)    |
| -73                               | (7)    |
| 100-439048-12-46 p.58             | (7)    |
| 100-439048-13-137                 | (27)   |
| 100-439048-15-61 (see index)      | (8)    |
| -62 encl.p.10                     | (8)    |
| -91                               | (8)    |
| -94 p.32,34,35,45,101,102         | (8)    |
| -117                              | (8)    |
| -120 (see index)                  | (8)    |
| -121 p.6                          | (8)    |
| -154 p.9                          | (8)    |
| -180                              | (8)    |
| -203 (see index)                  | (8,21) |
| -334                              | (9)    |
| 100-439048-19-71 p.23,33,35,36,37 | (9)    |
| 100-439048-21-42                  | (9)    |
| -44                               | (9)    |
| -80 encl.p.8,24,25                | (9)    |
| 100-439048-26-119 encl.p.43       | (9)    |
| 100-439048-27-29 encl.p.20        | (9)    |
| -56 encl.p.30,52                  | (9,21) |
| 100-439048-29-50                  | (9)    |
| 100-439048-31-117 encl.p.11       | (23)   |
| 100-439048-32-81                  | (9)    |
| -83 p.4,10,11                     | (9)    |

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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

|  |      |
|--|------|
| 100-439048-34-57 p.11,47               | (9)  |
| -62 encl.p.1,2                         | (10) |
| -92 p.6                                | (10) |
| -170 encl.p.5                          | (10) |
| -222 p.2,9                             | (10) |
| -229 encl.p.3,8,26,27                  | (10) |
| -248 p.94,129                          | (10) |
| -325                                   | (10) |
| -339                                   | (10) |
| 100-439048-35-41                       | (10) |
| -42 p.23,24                            | (10) |
| -48 encl.p.5,11                        | (10) |
| -118 encl.p.11 and encl.               | (10) |
| 100-439048-36-28 p.3,5,6,7,10,15,35,51 | (11) |
| 100-439048-37-55 encl.p.64             | (11) |
| -57 encl.p.86                          | (11) |
| -80 p.6                                | (11) |
| 100-439048-45-83 p.8,9                 | (11) |
| 100-439048-47-11                       | (11) |
| 100-439048-53-100                      | (27) |
| -106                                   | (21) |
| 100-439048-63-28 encl.p.5              | (11) |
| 100-439048-64-6                        | (11) |

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REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

The following references on Carl Oglesby in the file maintained in the Special File Room of the Records Branch, Files and Communications Division, were not reviewed and it is not known whether they are identical with the subject of this summary.

| REFERENCE                              | SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER |
|--|-------------------------|
| (U) [64-330-328] ( <del>S</del> )      | (4)                     |
| (U) [64-330-272-1664] ( <del>S</del> ) | (4)                     |
| (U) [64-330-330-514] ( <del>S</del> )  | (4)                     |
| (U) [64-330-370-27] ( <del>S</del> )   | (4)                     |

The following references were not available at the time this summary was being prepared:

| REFERENCE   | SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER |
|---|-------------------------|
| 100-451694-673  | (15, 22)                |
| 44-40353-150 encl.p.17 (Photo)<br>changed to<br>176-1410-26 | (1, 20)                 |

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (SI) that is set out in the main file. Although the information is the same it may have been received from different sources.

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~~SECRET~~

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FB

AUG 14 1969

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI BOSTON

7:20PMURGENT 8-14-69 EFM

TO DIRECTOR 105-142056 AND SAN FRANCISCO 100-55497

FROM BOSTON 100-37094 2 PGS

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, SM -SDS (KEY FIGUR), OO+ SF.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TEL AUGUST THIRTEEN LAST.

[REDACTED] EAST SULLIVAN, NEW HAMPSHIRE,  
ADVISED INSTANT DATE THAT OGLESBY WAS THERE FOR APPROXIMATELY  
TWO WEEKS BUT LEFT THREE WEEKS AGO. HE WAS STAYING WITH  
PERSON NAMED [REDACTED] NEITHER [REDACTED] NOR OGLESBY  
ARE AT EAST SULLIVAN, N. H., AT PRESENT TIME. WHILE THERE,  
OGLESBY RECEIVED NO MAIL AND LEFT NO FORWARDING ADDRESS.

PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF OGLESBY AND [REDACTED] UNKNOWN TO

[REDACTED]

INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED AT WORLD FELLOWSHIP CAMP,  
NORTH CONWAY, N. H., AND DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, HANOVER, N. H.,  
SITES WHERE OGLESBY MIGHT LOGICALLY BE LOCATED, NEGATIVE  
THIS DATE CONCERNING OGLESBY.

END OF PAGE ONE

F13

58 AUG 28 1969

8-1-00 SPS-JC/TMB

447931

922191

CPO-897

b6  
b7C

EX-103

REC-52

105-142056-132

AUG 19 1969



PAGE TWO

SOURCES AT OTHER LOGICAL LOCATIONS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE  
ALERTED IN ORDER TO DETERMINE WHETHER SUBJECT IS STILL  
IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

PRETEST INQUIRY AT RESIDENCE OF ROSENTHAL  
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., DEVELOPED INFORMATION ROSENTHAL  
VISITING FRIENDS IN CALIFORNIA..

BOSTON WILL HANDLE PER BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS  
IF OGLESBY LOCATED.

END

DCW

FBI WASH DC

TU

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-156780) (RUC)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM-SDS  
(KEY ACTIVIST)  
(OO:SF)

DATE: 8/14/69

ReNYlet to Bureau, 5/29/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau and San Francisco is one copy of a transcript of ABC Television program "Issues and Answers", held on 10/31/65, which contains the remarks of the subject.

The above transcript was furnished to SA THOMAS J. HARRINGTON on 7/28/69, by MARTIN RUBINSTEIN, Attorney for ABC Radio and Television, 7 West 66th Street, NY, NY. A tape recording of the above program is maintained by ABC and can be obtained by subpoena duces tecum directed to RUBINSTEIN.

ST-113

REC-40

105-142056-133

17 AUG 18 1969

- 2- Bureau (ENCL.1) (RM)  
2- San Francisco (100-55497) (ENCL.1) (RM)  
1- New York

VAA:abg  
(5)

INT/SEC.

8-1-00 SPS-J/TMC  
44/79/3 922/91



CPO-901

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED on Encl 6  
~~HEREIN~~ IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-1-98 BY SPS-JC/TMB  
447931 922191

ENCLOSURE

105-142056-133

PLEASE CREDIT ANY QUOTES OR EXCERPTS FROM THIS ABC RADIO AND TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "ABC'S ISSUES AND ANSWERS."

1  
P14.  
Script

I S S U E S      A N D      A N S W E R S

SUNDAY OCTOBER 31, 1965

GUESTS: Karl Oglesby, President, Students for a Democratic Society and  
Tom Clouston, Leader, Young Americans for Freedom

INTERVIEWED BY: Frank Reynolds, ABC News Correspondent

MR. REYNOLDS: Gentlemen, I know you represent students organizations with differing opinions on what should be done in Vietnam, so perhaps it might be good to set the stage for this discussion. If I ask you right now at the beginning what you think United States policy should be now in Vietnam, Karl, what should we do?

MR. OGLESBY: The leading edge of our policy should become the principles that Vietnam should be for the Vietnamese and that the more political aim is strong enough to justify the slaughter that is going on in the country now. We ought to stop bombing the North and the South, call for a cease-fire and reach out to the Viet Cong for immediate negotiations.

CPO-902

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-1-00 BY SP5-JCM/AB

447931 922191

MR. CLOUSTON: Young Americans for Freedom and I think most

young Americans fully support the present policy. I think that what we need to do is to conduct the war as aggressively as necessary in order to guarantee the autonomy of South Vietnam, to push the aggressors out, to guarantee that North Vietnamese troops remain in North Vietnam and they give the people of South Vietnam the opportunity to realize their own legitimate national aspirations.

MR. REYNOLDS: In your view, Karl, who is the aggressor in Vietnam?

MR. OGLESBY: Who is the aggressor in Vietnam? That kind of question it seems to me can only be answered if you look at the history of Vietnam and find out what the source of the revolution is. I don't know of any way to answer it quickly except to say that at the moment it appears as Jack Kingle of the New York Times has recently pointed out, that the war may be best understood, the facts of the war are best put in place if we take the notion that perhaps the aggressor is the United States and perhaps the enemy is the Vietnamese people.

MR. REYNOLDS: Do you mean that we are carrying on a war against the Vietnamese people, the people of South Vietnam?

MR. OGLESBY: I think the United States certainly doesn't have any intention of waging a war against the Vietnamese people. There is a thick history and by this time people are doing this for reasons that remain remote and obscure

in the past But the war is maybe best understandable if we see it as a war of invasion, the invading power being ours. Just looking at it very simply, we are able to take the big cities, we are able to establish ourselves on the coast. From those strongpoints we fan out with our strategic air power both to the North and to the South to devastate structures that are really villages, and to kill enemy people who are really village people.

How is one to understand the war? If you just looked at it flat, if you took a slice out of the life of the Vietnamese people now that would be the best interpretation, it would be the forced interpretation.

---

MR. REYNOLDS: Is it your view that the people of South Vietnam would like the United States to withdraw, to get out of there and let them settle it themselves?

MR. OGLESBY: Oh, some people in South Vietnam want that and many people very much don't.

MR. REYNOLDS: While it is difficult to speak in terms of the average South Vietnamese, let's say the person who is not involved with the government and has no particular stake in maintaining the status quo so to speak, do you think the average person let's say in the Mekong Delta wants the United States to go away?

MR. OGLESBY: It would certainly appear to be the case. There is just too much destruction. Many of the right wing

intellectuals that I talked with in Saigon, those who fear communism very much say that the American military presence now equals the mutilation of Vietnam. This is the big question. What could the Vietnamese do, even if there were peace tomorrow, if the war should stop all of a sudden right now? They don't have the leadership because the leadership is being assassinated, their best people have died on the battlefield, they don't have teachers, they don't have doctors, they don't have government people. And the longer the war goes on, the more exasperated that situation is going to be, the worse the Vietnamese people are going to be.

MR. REYNOLDS: You would favor then I take it in summation, would you favor a withdrawal of the United States?

MR. OGLESBY: Sure.

MR. REYNOLDS: An end to the military operation?

MR. OGLESBY: Yes. I would favor what the Administration says its policy is.

MR. REYNOLDS: And that would then probably lead to -- well, if we withdrew would you be satisfied if the Viet Cong took over?

MR. OGLESBY: Which element of the Viet Cong? It certainly seems to me --

MR. REYNOLDS: That element that is shooting at us out there now.

MR. OGLESBY: Yes, but there is political division within the Viet Cong. I wouldn't want to make too much out of that. The important thing about the Viet Cong is that it is the potent political force in the country now.

MR. REYNOLDS: Tom, I know that you have been sitting here anxiously waiting to respond to some of this.

MR. HUSTON: Well, I think that Karl just doesn't understand essentially what the situation is in Vietnam. First of all the aggressor clearly is the North Vietnamese. Since January of 1964, better than 10,000 regular North Vietnamese troops have infiltrated into the South. We have identified definitely the 325th North Vietnamese Division. This week we have identified the 32nd North Vietnamese Regiment operating as regular Army units in the South. The United States is there under a commitment given by President Eisenhower in 1954, reaffirmed by President Kennedy in 1961 and vigorously reaffirmed <sup>further</sup> by President Johnson. We are there at the request of the legitimate government. We are there with one purpose in mind, to help the Vietnamese to help themselves. I think that to turn over South Vietnam to the Viet Cong, whatever the sophisticated differences of opinion might be among them, is tantamount to turning South Vietnam over to North Vietnam.

The National Liberation Front is a complete myth, ICPO-906 believe, a fraud. It has no identifiable leadership. Who has



ever heard of a leader identified with the National Liberation Front? If it is a legitimate revolution, where is its Masser, or its Sukarno or its Castro, or its Ben Bella? When a Viet Cong person is executed, a terrorist is executed, his last words have been "Long live Ho Chi Minh." Because he realizes that he is an agent of the North Vietnamese Ho Chi Minh government.

mdl MR. REYNOLDS: May I ask now about the role your organizations are taking in this controversy?

What is your position, Karl, on the burning of draft cards? I take it you are not encouraging students to burn their draft cards?

MR. OGLESBY: No, <sup>the</sup> SDS Program on the draft is highly legitimate. As a matter of fact, it comes down to a public service in one of its important points. We are just trying to spread information among those who are interested in having it about the nature of the Draft law.

MR. REYNOLDS: Are you encouraging young men to become conscientious objectors?

MR. OGLESBY: We encourage people to resist the war in Vietnam. We encourage people, as you can easily understand, to accept our theory of what is going on there. If people accept our theory of the war in Vietnam, they will find it morally impossible to fight. They then ask, "What can we do?" And we say "It may be that you are a conscientious objector. It may be that you are and you don't even know it."

"Do you know about the Seeger Case? Do you know the relevant court findings about the nature of the religious belief in action?" We should make this information available to people who want to find out --

MR. REYNOLDS: Is that the extent of your program just making the information available?

MR. OGLESBY: With recruiting, everybody who is in the game of politics who tries to get people to believe as he does, because he thinks that he has some claim on truth.

We think that our view of the war in Vietnam is the right view and that people who share that view will just find it morally impossible to fight in the war.

MR. REYNOLDS: Well, what do you think of a young man who would burn his draft card, do you applaud his action or do you deplore it or --

MR. OGLESBY: There there is a full flow of sympathetic resonance. We understand why a guy does it. When Dave Miller does it it is not because he is trying to jam the draft

~~system or the machine. He is making more with this. That is~~  
why he does it in front of the television cameras.

It is essentially the statement "non-serviant" the statement that has marked the progressive heretic from the beginning of history.

It says that there is a threshold, there is a limit beyond which I cannot go, beyond which my conscience won't let me go. There is a point at which I have to make my conscious claims clear against the state.

MR. REYNOLDS: You are not, though, I take it, advising young people to burn their draft cards, is that right?

MR. OGLESBY: No, we do not have any program like that.

MR. REYNOLDS: Are you advising them not to burn the

draft cards?

md3 MR. OGLESBY: No. As Hondo says, that is a situation where a man should do what he thinks he should do.

MR. REYNOLDS: Tom, how do you feel about it?

MR. HUSTON: First, I want to call Karl's attention to this bulletin here that came out of the National Office of SDS, August 12, in which it says that, reporting on the enactment by the Congress of the bill outlawing the burning of the draft cards, it says, "The House passed late Thursday a bill called 'the SDS Bill' by those who recall the SDS proposed to encourage massive draft card burning. The bill is designed to prevent

potential draftees or Vietnam War protestors from burning their draft cards."

Now, I would like to add if I may, here, why is it an official publication for your own National Office,

you refer to this bill as the SDS bill and why you say it was enacted in opposition to your own proposal to burn draft cards, or have you changed your position?

MR. REYNOLDS: May I interrupt for just a moment? We will come back to get your answer in just a moment. We will be back with more issues.

(Announcement).

MR. REYNOLDS: I think it might be advisable if you restate your question --

MR. HUSTON. My question to Karl was, in his own organization's official publication, they claim the bill enacted by Congress against draft card burning was directed specifically to what they referred to as the SDS proposal for draft card burning and I wanted to know whether you have changed your position since then or how you would explain this.

MR. OGLESBY. Well, Tom, you have the answer in your hands when you say the word "proposal." There have been a great many proposals in SDS and other organizations about the way to mount a protest against the war in Vietnam and about the ways in which individuals can make clear to other individuals what their position on Vietnam is.

~~That was one proposal. There have been many other proposals.~~  
Some are good and some are bad and some are wise and some are downright ridiculous.

It turns out that after debate, SDS is not committing itself nationally in any public-policy way to the advocacy of draft card burning.

MR. REYNOLDS. Gentlemen, I think we can make the judgment that you both are interested in the same goal. That is peace in Vietnam.

Now, Karl, as you know, the charge has been made that by your continued demonstrations you are encouraging the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese to believe that the American people are opposed to the Administration's policy and thereby

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perhaps prolonging the war. What answer do you make to that?

MR. OGLESBY: I think that I am very skeptical of this argument. I think it is not sincerely made. I think people have other reasons for wanting to see the protests stop.

Now as to

the perceptions that the Vietnamese people have of the United States, I think maybe it would do us a lot of good if we imagined that the world were not round at all, but really flat, except for a number of volcanoes that sit on the generally flat surface of the world.

There are maybe three volcanoes to the United States, Russia, China. People who are not in the United States, Russia and China live under those volcanoes and they practice studying of those volcanoes.

I am suggesting that the North Vietnamese and the South Vietnamese along with all the other people in the third world know a great deal more about United States politics than we sometimes give them credit for.

MR. KEYROLES: Well, the reaction from Hanoi did indicate that they were cheered by the recent student demonstrations.

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MR. OGLESBY: Well, if we were in their position, we would be cheered too, I think. That is only natural, but the

peace movement of the United States and it does not seem to me that there is any evidence to indicate that they do.

MR. REYNOLDS: You are not very optimistic, then, about your peace movement and your student protest movement actually influencing United States policy to go according to your wishes?

MR. CIGLSBY: About optimism and pessimism, I would say it does not make any difference whether I am an optimist or a pessimist, I would still have to do what I have to do.

MR. REYNOLDS: Gentlemen, you have still been on the opposite sides of the street, I guess literally probably, on certain occasions and you represent opposing points of view here today.

I think it might be a useful exercise to try to establish a dialogue between left and right if I may use those terms. Why don't you go ahead and talk to one another and see if you can't come to some sort of understanding.

Isn't there some question you would like to ask the president of the organization so opposed to yours?

MR. HUSTON: Yes, my question of SDS and the people on the left generally is this. Don't you feel that to a certain extent that you are overstating your case, that you are making essentially a propaganda barrage that is not so much committed to truth as it is to instituting a certain political upheaval within the United States? For example, when I was in California

during the EDC protests -- and of course your group was part and parcel of this overall protest movement out there -- I picked up at Berkeley this little thing, "Wanted for War Crimes, General Maxwell Taylor." This one. "Halt Maxwell Taylor." I picked up a couple brochures here, one of which said, referring to General Maxwell Taylor, "This American version of Goebbels is coming to San Francisco." One referring to President Johnson. "Johnson to most of the world recalls Hitler invoking national honor, anti-communism, to rationalize mass murder."

Now, personally, I resent very much a suggestion that a great patriot who has devoted his life to service of his country like General Taylor and a man of the stature of President Johnson who is President of these United States, to suggest that he is a Hitlerite to me is so incredible, so terribly incredible that no reasonable person could believe it.

My question is. Why would anybody for any purpose distribute on a mass basis, this kind of information?

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MR. OGLESBY. You may quarrel as you please, Tom, and I may in fact be sympathetic with you somewhat as to the tactics of the protest and if you are accusing us from time to time of being very shrill, then you have got us dead to rights because from time to time we have been very shrill. We are very wounded. And people under the kinds of moral stress



that the left is under, the young left, the new left in the United States, contend from time to time to feel so alienated that it has to be shrill to even be heard.

The substantive questions, if I can just go on, Frank, that perhaps these too-shrill statements are trying to raise is whether or not there can be a difference between service to the flag and service to the values that the flag is supposed to stand for.

We want to raise questions about whether or not the United States is capable of committing war crimes against the people. Now that is a substantive issue that can be empirically settled. We have a good definition of war crimes. All we have to do is consult the American jurisprudence at Nuremberg. We can look at that definition and look at Vietnam. We can ask: Is the United States conducting a systematic war of obliteration against a people?

MR. REYNOLDS: If I may interrupt your dialog here, do you agree with the sentiments on "General Taylor is Wanted for War Crimes?"

MR. OGLESBY: Well, who is going to try him, where is the tribunal --

MR. HUSTON: On October 15 and 16 at Madison a group of your people up there constituted themselves as an ad hoc court and wanted to try a military Colonel up there in charge of at the time.

MR. OGLESBY: Yes, we want to state the question so that people know there is a question. Most people do not know there is a question.

Do you see the napalming, do you see the use of phosphorous, do you know about the Lazy Dogs, do you know about the use of gas against civilians?

MR. HUSTON: The use of gas against civilians occurs right in the domestic United States. We use tear gas anywhere.

MR. OGLESBY: And do you accept it?

MR. HUSTON: I certainly do. I certainly accept the use of tear gas because it preserves the lives of the people as a controlling device.

MR. OGLESBY: Let's cut back to the phosphor and the Lazy Dog and napalm and the strategic bombing from the B-52s. Let's cut back to the United States, which says that it is only going after strategic military targets in North Vietnam for ten days, back in July wiped out a leper colony, ten days --

MR. HUSTON: I saw the pictures in the magazines of the Progressive Labor Front, the Peking Communist publication, of this so-called leper colony. I am not an expert with photographs, but you have to be either completely naive or totally dishonest to look at those photographs and not be able to conclude that (a) they are either doctored or (b) they are not

even in the same place.

MR. OGLESBY. A Japanese observer just came back from Vietnam and he talked of having toured the leper colony with its 136 buildings --

MR. HUSTON. Let me ask you this. --

MR. OGLESBY. Let's go to something there can't be any dispute about --

MR. HUSTON. Why doesn't the North Vietnamese let the International Control Commission come in to see this? They refused to let the International Control Commission come in to examine it. If you are so sure this is going on, then let's let the International Control Commission, made up of India, Canada, and Poland, go in and tell us about it. I've seen no substantive proof.

MR. OGLESBY. Let's go to something without going through the ICC, which has been vexed sorely from both sides.

MR. HUSTON. Vexed by whom?

MR. OGLESBY. By both sides. You very well know Diem's policy about the ICC.

MR. REYNOLDS. But Diem is no longer there.

(?)

MR. HUSTON. We're talking about the North. Polk has set it a wonderful example by letting the ICC have free run of the country. He has not.

MR. OGLESBY. A couple of issues back News Week carried a full color half page photograph of a rice mill

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at Tan Hua that had been wiped out. There is no doubt that it was a rice mill and there is no doubt it was wiped out.

MR. HUSTON. I would concede in war unfortunately certain civilian targets are hit, but I think there's a difference, say, that it is part of an accidental policy, say a rice mill, or maybe a civilian group in a military area are wiped out. But there is a difference between that and war crimes.

By your definition any war is a crime, essentially.

MR. OGLESBY. The usual opponent in a war is an armed enemy. It seems that in this war we have opted for Mao's dictum people is a sea in which guerillas swim and we think now the only way to get the guerillas is to wipe out the sea.

MR. REYNOLDS. Karl, do you believe this is a deliberate policy on the part of the United States that President Johnson, Maxwell Taylor, Cabot Lodge and others really want to hit civilian targets?

MR. OGLESBY. Frank, it gives me great agony to even approach that question because there are certain things about my country that I want to remain true and things about it that I want to remain false, but the only thing I can do is look at the evidence available to me and draw the conclusion that

seems forced. It is a fact that the United States since February 19 has been systematically bombing the villages of the South.

MR. REYNOLDS. Gentlemen, we will be back in just a moment with more ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

(Announcement)

MR. REYNOLDS. What do you propose to do now to influence more people to come around to your way of thinking, each of you?

Tom?

MR. HUSTON. Well, I feel very strongly that the vast majority of American people and young people particularly support the President's policy in Vietnam. I was in Asia just recently and on the basis of my visit there. I am convinced that the vast majority of the people of free Asian countries support our policy and I think the damage is being done by the protest movement to create a false impression abroad of our position, and of our support for the President.

So the Young Americans for Freedom is going to set up a program which will be announced formally within a couple of weeks which will be known as the International Youth Crusade for Freedom in Vietnam. We have several programs of support which we will implement including the bleed-ins on December 7 we hope to have what we will call the debate-in. We are going to support the Marine program known as Operation

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Handclasp, a program which is wonderful in terms of the Marines helping in refugee relocation and relief and rendering assistance to the refugees and people in South Vietnam and on January 7th and 8th, we are going to have international demonstrations of support for American policy in Vietnam and I will be going back to Asia to speak at several rallies in Asian countries.

MR. REYNOLDS. Karl, what is the Students For a Democratic Society going to do?

MR. OGLESBY. The false impression that might be created abroad would be that impression created if all of a sudden there was silence about the war.

The false impression would really be that Americans are unconcerned, we do not want that false impression to be created. We want to build to the rest of the world in order to communicate with them the very important knowledge that they are aching to hear about, that there is dissent, there is <sup>?</sup>burgeoning dissent in the United States.

MR. REYNOLDS. Have you had any response to your request that young people be allowed to serve in the Peace Corps and be given draft deferments?

MR. OGLESBY. We have had unofficial response from Congressmen and from other people in the Government. They say they will say what they can for us in the corridors and in the halls, but there has been no public response.

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MR. HUSTON. Frank, on that, I think one of the essential questions that is being overlooked in this entire dialogue and discussion is this. Does a person really have a right to choose which war he wants to fight in? There are 145,000 American boys in Vietnam today being shot at, taking a chance on being killed, and I am sure none of them want to be there. Hundreds of thousands, millions, in fact, of American boys fought against Japan and against Germany and Italy and in World War I. No one really wanted to go, but they went because it was their duty to go, their sense of obligation. And I do not much appreciate the idea being propagated by your group that you as an individual have a right to choose. "I like this war, so I will fight it, but I won't fight someone else's war." It isn't someone else's war, it's our war, America's war, and you are an American citizen and you have an obligation to fight.

MR. OGLESBY. Well, I would say this. If it is our war, then the people will show up to fight it. I say second that the question is not whether the State has the right to obligate its citizens to service, but rather whether or not the state has the right to violate the conscience of its citizens and I guess the last thing I would want to say about that is something a crotchety old newsmen said a few days ago when he came up in a Vietnam debate, which was, "One of these days they are going to call it war and there won't be

nobody show up.

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MR. REYNOLDS. That statement, I think, has been made about many other wars and perhaps it would be very nice if nobody could show up and there would be nobody to die.

Well, gentlemen, we are grateful to you for coming on today and expressing your points of view, as forcefully and as lucidly as you have. Perhaps if you continue this dialogue you may find that you are not so much in general disagreement as it would seem.

Thank you very much for being with us on ISSUES AND ANSWERS today.



F B I

Date: 9/11/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55497) (P)  
SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)  
OO: San Francisco

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau dated 9/5/69.

On 9/11/69, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] San Francisco, advised that as of 9/10/69 OGLESBY and his family were in residence at 1268 Vermont Street, San Francisco. [REDACTED] was unable to furnish any information as to the recent whereabouts of Subject other than that [REDACTED].

b6  
b7c

EX-116

REC-65

105-142056-134  
18 SEP 13 1969

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco  
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 8-1-00 BY SP5-JC/TMG

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

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